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MEMOIR

RESPECTING THE KAFFERS, HOTTENTOTS,

AND

BOSJEMANS.

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MEMOIR

RESPECTING

THE KAFFERS, HOTTENTOTS, AND BOSJEMANS,

OF

SOUTH AFRICA.

BY

LIEUT-COL. SUTHERLAND,
2ND REGIMENT BOMBAY LIGHT CAVALRY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

CAPE TOWN:
PIKE & PHILIP, 59, ST. GEORGES'-STREET.
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SIR CHARLES METCALFE'S

ACCEPTANCE OF THIS TRIFLE IS REQUESTED,

AS SOME SMALL TOKEN OF

AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE, FOR SUCH FRIENDSHIP AND PROTECTION,

THROUGH A LONG PERIOD OF YEARS,

AS IT HAS SELDOM BEEN THE GOOD FORTUNE OF ONE MAN

TO EXPERIENCE

AT THE HANDS OF ANOTHER.

J. SUTHERLAND,

Lieut. Col. 2nd Regiment Bombay Light Cavalry,
Long his Private Secretary and Aid-de-Camp.

Cape Town,
July 15, 1845.

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(DUPLICATE OF THAT OF AUGUST 31ST,)

TO Mr. SECRETARY MONTAGU,

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MEMOIR, &c.

From Lieut.-Colonel SUTHERLAND,

To the Honorable JOHN MONTAGU,

Colonial Secretary.

SIR,

I HAVE just returned from a four month's Tour through the Districts of George, Uitenhage, Albany, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, and Somerset,* where I have seen a good deal of the working of "The Border Policy"—particularly during my progress along, and a little beyond the Kaffer Frontier—and having, as Representative of the Governor-General of India with the Nineteen States of Rajpootana, the management of the Border Policy with the Bheel and other Tribes, not very dissimilar, in their predatory habits and uncivilized condition, from the Kaffers of this country; —having, at the same time, had nothing else to do on the Frontier, I collected all the information within

* I left Cape Town (where I had been since February last) on the 27th of April,—thinking the climate of the Frontier would be more beneficial to my health,—and without the least intention of, or preparation for, entering on this discussion.

my reach, afforded by the records of past and present times, regarding the Dutch and our own Political Relations with the Kaffers;—discussing the subject with the Government Authorities, particularly with the Resident Agents, Messrs. Stretch and Fynn, whom I was fortunate enough to meet at Tyumie.

I have arranged this matter under three separate Heads:—

1st Head.—Records, Dutch and English, regarding the Kaffers, from A.D. 1650, to the present period.

2nd Head.—Scheme for the formation and payment of a Frontier Legion, to give protection to our own Frontier, and to secure peace in Kafferland.

3d Head.—Existing Treaties with the Kaffers—Observations on the Treaties—Predatory Character of Chiefs and People—Proposed Amendment in the Treaties—Agency through which to control the Kaffers, and recover from them lost property.

I trust that there may not appear anything very impertinent on my part in meddling with a matter which, as the servant of another Government, here on account of my health, does not officially concern me. My only hope is, that the experience which I have attained in India, in regulating and controlling such matters, may be of some use here. Much, of course, from the want of Records, remains to be filled up under the first Head; but if it be thought worth while, that could be done by any other hand, according to my scheme or any other that may be considered better,—and Mr. Moodie's hand would, perhaps, be the best. If, after perusing the enclosed Memoir, you should think that it would be acceptable to His Ex-

cellency the Governor, I would feel obliged by your laying it before him.

I have, &c. J. S.

Cradock, August 31st, 1844.

Note.—It was my intention to have sent the Three Heads of my Discourse to Mr. Montagu on my return to Cape Town,—but the second and third Heads were soon finished, and despatched from Cradock and Graaff-Reinet on the 31st of August and the 11th of September respectively,—each accompanied by a copy of this Letter,—whilst the first Head has become a lengthy and almost an interminable affair.—J. Sutherland.—*Graaff-Reinet, Oct. 24th,* 1844.

SECOND HEAD.*

SCHEME FOR THE FORMATION AND PAYMENT OF CORPS, TO GIVE PROTECTION TO OUR OWN FRONTIERS, AND TO SECURE PEACE IN KAFFERLAND.

Organization and Stations of Corps.

THREE corps to be formed—consisting of six companies each; each company consisting of two native officers, corresponding in rank and station with the Subadars and Jemadars of the Indian army,—five sergeants, five corporals, and seventy-five privates.—

Total of each company,	2.	5.	5.	75
				6 companies.
	12.	30.	30.	450 total of each corps.
				3 corps.
	36.	90.	90.	1350—1566 grand total.

One company in each corps to be composed of Amakosa Kaffers.

One of Tambookie Kaffers.

Two companies in each corps to be composed of Fingos.

Two ditto of Hottentots.

And with each of the companies a few Bosjesmans might be intermixed, if they will take service.

* The 2nd and 3rd Heads were first sent to Mr. MONTAGU, and are therefore first placed in the Memoir.

To each corps might be given a superior native officer, or commandant, to be selected from amongst the younger sons of the native chiefs, if they will take service in such a force; one from the Kaffers; one from the Fingos; and one might be a Hottentot.

No. 1, to be stationed between the Sea and Fort Thompson, and to be under the command of the Resident Agent at Fort Peddie.

No. 2, ditto ditto between Fort Thompson and Zwart Kai Post, and to be under the command of the Resident Agent at Tyumi.

No. 3, ditto ditto between Zwart Kai Post and the North-western Frontier, and to be under command of the Resident Agent at Zwart Kai Post.

The whole to be under the authority and control of the Agent General.

These three corps, stationed on the Frontier, or in posts along it, to be supported by the Cape Mounted Rifles; which, too, might be increased in numbers, and stationed at Fort Beaufort.

A single Regiment of Foot, stationed at Graham's Town, would be sufficient for the support of all, forming a substantial base of operations for the whole machinery.

This force would be far superior, I think, to that with which Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN repelled the formidable combination of the Kaffer chiefs and people in 1834—5, and such a combination is not again probable, or perhaps possible, "when MACOMO had for the first time succeeded in securing the co-operation of all the Amakosa Tribes, as well of HINTZA beyond the Kye, as of T'SLAMBIE towards the sea, and when he justly built upon the support and assistance of the whole race of Kaffers in his long contemplated Invasion of the Colony." Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN to Ld. GLENELG, June 9, 1836.

The force to be encountered immediately on enter- Ditto, ditto.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban to Ld. Glenelg, June 9, 1836.

ing Kafferland, those who had been invading the Colony, and those supporting them between the Keiskama and the Kye Rivers, was at the least 40,000 warriors, who would in all probability be backed by double that number from beyond the Kye.

Ditto, ditto.

"To repel this formidable combination and invasion 'the division of operations' consisted of 400 British troops, 760 Hottentot levies, entertained only two months, 350 Cape Mounted Riflemen, and 1,481 mounted farmers.

Ditto, ditto.

"The 'defensive division' consisted of 485 British troops, and 1,515 persons, composed of municipal bodies, local levies, and mounted farmers."

Ditto, ditto.

"The arrangement of the movements, and the good conduct of the troops, secured unchecked success with little loss in the advance into Kafferland—a just chastisement was carried home to the Kaffers in the midst of their own country; with an exhibition of power and of efficiency in its application which they will hereafter hold in salutary remembrance.

Colonel Smith to Sir Benjamin D'Urban April 17, 1836.

"After Hintza's death I pushed forward, and the troops under my command performed a march unparalleled in the pages of history—captured 4,000 bullocks in the deep ravines of the Bashee, marched the next day to the bed of the Umtata, and on the following day were surrounded by thousands of gigantic barbarians, who attempted to obstruct the handful of men (350) under my command, escorting 4,000 head of cattle, having to pass through a cleft in the rock, which admitted of only one bullock at a time, and bringing with them from bondage 1,000 of the enslaved Fingo race, including women and children;—a march, the effects of which, on the minds of the barbarians, is often the topic of their conversation: 'We thought the English were heavy and unwieldy, could only move in wagons, whereas we have seen

them move from the bed of the Kye to within sight of the Umtata in three days.' This inspires them with awe for our troops, which will deter them from further aggressions."

The above extracts would seem to show, that however formidable the Kaffers in offensive operations may be, and however frightful their ravages as invaders—they are but little formidable, or rather utterly contemptible, in defensive operations.*

In their offensive operations and irruption into the Colony in 1834—5, "they burnt down 455 houses (not wigwams), and carried away 5,438 horses, 114,418 head of cattle, and 156,878 sheep." Sir Benjamin D'Urban to Ld. Glenelg, June 9, 1836.

So impossible was it to gain indemnification for losses sustained in property, or to cover the expense of the war, for the Kaffers have nothing but cattle to give,—"that only 30 head of cattle could be extracted from Hintza in nine days, out of the 25,000 which he had engaged to pay, for his share in the war and aggression." Col. Smith to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, April 17, 1836.

This impossibility rendered it necessary to accept from Crieli, Hintza's son and successor—"a considerable portion of territory to the Eastward, or on the left bank of the Kye river, in satisfaction of the unfulfilled demand;"—thus again extending our frontiers beyond that river, the attainment of which, as a frontier, was apparently His Excellency's chief object, or next only to the protection of our own Colonial territory, in his offensive operations; and if it were possible ever to form and keep a frontier line, the Kye river appears to be marked out as such by nature—since it runs in almost a straight and well- Ld. Glenelg to Sir Benj. D'Urban, Aug. 2, 1836.

* This Colony must always be safe from prolonged danger or difficulty whilst, from Table Bay and other ports, we have the means, through steam, of putting down troops at any point on the coast of Kafferland; and thus calling back the Kaffers to the protection of their families and herds.

defined line, in a South-east direction, from the Storm Berg to the sea.

The horrors of a Kaffer invasion, the facility with which by them it is accomplished, and the impossibility of gaining from them indemnification either for losses sustained by the Colonists, or for the expenses of a war, (for they have nothing but long-horned cattle, and uncultivated or unculturable land to give, both of which must be useless, or nearly so, to either the Colonists or the Government—the land yielding no revenue, and involving the Government in the expense and difficulties necessarily attending an extension of frontier), render it quite obvious that Government must at all times be prepared to defend its frontiers, whether against great or small aggressions, either by chiefs or people.

The organization which I propose, consisting of 1566 armed men, whose discipline might be carried to any degree of perfection, with a good Regiment or more of Cape Mounted Riflemen, and a Regiment of British Foot, would obviously be far superior to the force at Sir Benjamin D'Urban's disposal in 1834, —which consisted of 885 British Troops, and 350 Cape Mounted Riflemen; the remainder (3,756) consisting of Hottentot levies, mounted farmers, and municipal bodies—and these could again be collected, although we have doubtless lost much of the defensive force of the Colony, through the departure of the mighty body of the Dutch farmers;—the use of these, however, in offensive operations, making them the avengers of their own sufferings, whether real or imaginary, must always have been dangerous, producing demoralization on both sides of the border; and the system belonged to a weak and inefficient period of Government (commencing with the Dutch,) not again likely to occur.

The possibility of organizing corps, composed of predatory and uncivilized tribes, for the control of their brethren, is no speculation on my part; for, as Representative of the Governor-General of India with the States of Rajpootana, it was a part of my duty to superintend, in the last few years, the organization of Corps of Bheels,—a tribe of people not differing materially, in their predatory habits and uncivilized condition, from the Kaffers.* They came as recruits from their mountain fastnesses, with their bows and arrows. Yet, in a couple of years, Captain HUNTER brought these men armed with muskets, clothed and equipped like British soldiers,—to a condition of discipline, both as light infantry and infantry of the line, to entitle them to take their place, in either a field of battle or of manœuvre, with our own troops. These Bheel Corps consist of about the same numbers, and are organized similarly as those I have proposed for the defence of the Kaffer frontier.

Lieut.-Colonel ROBINSON'S Report on the condition of Meywar Bheel Corps.

Captain HUNTER has, at the same time, conducted the small political relations of the Government with the Bheel Chiefs, assisted only by a second in command and an adjutant, and by drafts of native officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, from the Indian army.

If that officer, or any other officer of experience in the management of such affairs in India, could be lent for employment here, there is no doubt, I think, that the frontier relations would be put in a satisfac-

* Our conquest of Scinde threw loose a great body of mounted and armed plunderers (curiously enough called Kossas, the term by which one of the Kaffer Tribes is distinguished,) and it became the duty of the Government of India to devise a scheme through which they could be controlled. It was my duty to take a part in the discussion, but as it had not closed when I left India, I cannot say what resulted;—valuable information on the subject may be obtained from India.

tory condition in a very short time. Or perhaps, Colonel Somerset would not consider it below his station and standing in the army, to undertake the organization which I have suggested; and then, no other officer would, of course, be necessary.

Scheme for payment.

The mode of paying such corps is the next consideration. The Bheel Corps cost perhaps £15,000 per annum; about one-half of which is paid by the Meywar Government,—a native state, whose imperfect control of its own subjects rendered the organization necessary;—and the remainder is paid by the Government of India. What the cost of these frontier corps would be, I have no means of determining. The Kaffer chiefs can, of course, pay nothing—and whether the Colony or Her Majesty's Government would bear the expense, I, of course, cannot tell. The frontier Colonists have an obvious interest in opposing or rejecting the scheme, since they derive great benefit from the enormous sum expended yearly by the Home Government, in the maintenance of the Regiment of Dragoon Guards, and the three Regiments of Foot, now employed on the frontiers.

But there is another resource—for there is abundance of unoccupied land on the Frontier—on which both officers and men might be put down, and which could be distributed among them according to their several grades and rates of pay—like (to compare great things with small) the military colonies of Russia. Much of the Frontier land has been granted to those who pay little or no rent, and if enough does not remain for the purpose indicated, more might be bought from the Frontier colonists—the value of such land being apparently at present hardly more than two shillings an acre. If still enough should not be procurable on the Frontier, land might probably, through negotiation, be obtained on yearly payments,

through the Frontier Kaffer Chiefs, in what has been called sometimes the Ceded, sometimes the Neutral Territory. We have not the right, I think, of so occupying that land except through purchase, or yearly payment, and free negotiation.

Paying these troops by land would have several advantages over money payments.

1st. The expense would be less, or less felt by Government. The Kaffers and Fingos would receive mostly pasturage lands for their flocks and herds—the pastoral being their present condition—and to these might be added such lands as would enable them to cultivate their Indian and Kaffer corn. The Hottentots would receive lands of a superior kind, where they could have their houses with gardens and cornfields under irrigation, as at present at the Kat River Settlement.

2nd. The whole body would thus take root in the land; the presence of the cattle, herds, and families of the Kaffers and Fingos, would be sufficient security for their individual fidelity and good conduct. Of these qualities in the Hottentot there need not, I believe, be any doubt entertained. But they also would soon have interests involved, which would, perhaps, render the service so valuable that, in the process of time, no other punishment than dismissal would be necessary to ensure good conduct—and that is necessarily the point to be aimed at in the organization of foreign or mercenary soldiers.

3rd. An additional power in our hands, through these military colonies, would be—that of taking up one of them, and planting it bodily in the territories of any chief who offended against us, or permitted his subjects systematically to do so, contrary to the engagements by which all are bound; or new colonies might be organized for this purpose. At present,

we appear to have no means of inflicting punishment, the cost of which does not fall on ourselves.

It may be worthy of consideration whether it would not be possible to pay the Cape Mounted Riflemen through grants of land, making military colonies of them; or whether a better form of organization, for that corps, would not be the Indian Irregular cavalry system, that is, by fixed monthly pay, enabling every man to furnish and maintain his own horse, arms, and appointments; and this system has, I hear, been proposed by Capt. Sutton, of that regiment. Irregular cavalry are, undoubtedly, better suited than regular for such duties as the Cape regiment is generally employed on. Even Col. Somerset could not tell me what each mounted man, at present, costs government. Our Indian experience shows clearly enough that the irregular cavalry system is the cheapest, and there is no doubt of its high efficiency. They are, at present, acknowledgedly underpaid,—each man and horse, with arms and appointments, costing about £24 per annum. The average yearly cost to government of the Regular Native Cavalry of India, on the three Presidencies, is £83 man and horse; the cost differs materially in the three Presidencies:—that in Madras being £95—Bombay, 90—Bengal, 64. What each trooper, with his horse, arms, and appointments, in the Cape Mounted Corps, costs government, does not seem to be known; and for what monthly sum a trooper could afford to furnish and support his horse, arms, and appointments, I cannot, of course, tell.

But, to return from this long digression relating to the Cape Mounted Rifles, and the organization under which they would be most efficient,* and cheapest,

* A great advantage in irregular, over regular cavalry, for such work, is, that every man carries money in his pocket, for the maintenance of his

as a component part of our Frontier defensive system.

There can be no doubt, I think, that these military Colonies, planted within our own territories, and composed, from the first, of our own subjects;† or of men who would immediately become such, living under the control of our own laws, would form, whether in time of war or of peace, a better frontier defence to the colony than could ever be formed by bringing, as has been proposed, (the Rev. W. B. Boyce, page 51,) foreign chiefs and people, living on the border, under British laws—an attempt which would certainly fail here, as it has failed elsewhere, had we even the right to make it. Effects of the Military Colonies.

Each of the corps would probably be sufficient, at all times, for the defence of the frontier line assigned to it. But under pressure, the whole or portions of each corps, could be united, for the protection of the disturbed portion of the frontier, or for operations in Kafferland.

The mixture of Kaffers, Fingoes, Bosjesmans, and Hottentots, would go far to ensure the fidelity and good conduct of all. They might, at first, be armed and clothed according to their own fashion:—the Kaffer and Fingo with his assagai; the Bosjesman with his bow and (unpoisoned) arrow; and the Hottentot with fire-arms. Eventually all could be armed and clothed alike, for neither class has any objection to the use of European arms and clothing.

Such a mixture of tribes under British officers and

horse and for his own maintenance, which brings markets to the spot, in march with regiments, and commissariat supplies are unnecessary.

† This paper was written before I had seen "Bannister's Humane Policy." He says—"Ordinary exertions applied to bring bodies of Native Tribes into social activity, will clearly lead to the happiest results." —Page 18.

military discipline, would also, perhaps, go farther towards the civilization of the more savage races than any system yet adopted. The missionary would find the head quarters of the several corps a fine field for the exercise of his labors; whilst religion and education would go hand in hand with military discipline and organization in the great work of civilization.

If the troops were paid in land, the same strict discipline and military duty could not, doubtless, be exacted or expected from them as if they were paid in money. In the former case it would, perhaps, be sufficient to keep embodied at the head-quarters of each regiment, one-half or one-third of its numbers, whilst the remainder attended to their flocks and fields at their own homes, a half-yearly or quarterly relief taking place; or, on urgent occasions, or even for purposes of discipline or display, the whole body of men might speedily be called together by signal, and with such signals for a gathering, the Kaffers are, in their own land, already well acquainted.

No great expense need be incurred on account of public buildings, for all would house and hut themselves according to their own fashion, and build their churches and schools; but with such regularity as might be deemed necessary—as we see done at the Moravian Missionary Station of Shiloh.

A hospital and surgeon would probably be deemed necessary for each corps. But, the principle once adopted, these are matters of detail which would remain for after consideration and adjustment.

I do not know whether the tenure on which the Hottentots and emancipated slaves hold their lands on the Kat River, entitles Government to call for such military service from them. If so, they might of course be enrolled in the corps; if not, some inducement might be given to them to serve, either in

monthly money payment, or in additional land,—provided that they were not thus raised to a condition superior to their brethren in the same service.

Nor do I know whether the service tenure on which some of the Dutch hold their farms, entitles Government to call on them for such service—if so, they too might be enrolled in the corps, as commissioned, non-commissioned officers, or privates, according to their condition and station in society.

J. SUTHERLAND.

Note.—Despatched from Cradock, August 31st, 1844.

THIRD HEAD.

EXISTING TREATIES WITH THE KAFFERS,—OBSERVATIONS ON THE TREATIES,—PREDATORY CHARACTER OF CHIEFS AND PEOPLE,—PROPOSED AMENDMENT IN THE TREATIES,—AGENCY THROUGH WHICH TO CONTROL THE KAFFERS, AND RECOVER FROM THEM LOST PROPERTY.

It were unnecessary to refer to the first treaties or engagements of the Dutch and our own government with the Kaffers, were those in my possession, which they are not—for the Treaty of the 5th December, 1836, is that by which the contracting parties are bound, and that Treaty was, of course, entered into through free negotiation.

Article 1.—Peace and Amity.

Articles 2, 3, and 8.—Defining Boundary.

Articles 4, 5, 6, and 7—Relate to Territory before ceded by the Kaffer Chiefs between the Keiskama and Kat Rivers, conditionally restored to them, reserving the right of stationing troops and building forts therein, but engaging that troops, passing from fort to fort, or keeping open communications, shall not deviate from the lines of communication.

Articles 9 and 14.—No right in bodies, or individuals to cross boundaries, except with permission of the contracting parties; and excepting, also, British troops communicating with posts in the restored territory.

Article 10.—A chief or pakati to reside at certain points in the restored territory, near the frontier, as a guard; he shall keep up a good understanding with the nearest post within the colonial border, and prevent aggressions to the extent of his power, by the subjects of the contracting parties. But he is to remain responsible to his own chiefs, who pledge themselves to punish neglect, fraud, or deception on his part.

Articles 11 and 12—Relate to the stationing of British agents in the Kaffer country, the protection to be afforded to them, and to their free ingress and egress. They shall in all matters of complaint and reference be the agents to both contracting parties, acting with equal impartiality towards and maintaining inviolate the interest of both.

Article 13.—Free access to all colonists, furnished with passports, to Kaffer agents. Kaffers may be employed as police at the British posts, who shall have free access to, and assistance and protection in, the Kaffer country, whether as messengers, or in search of depredators, and fugitive colonial criminals.

Articles 14, 15, 21, and 22.—British subjects passing the boundary to carry a British passport, are to be accompanied by a messenger to the pakati, and shall not carry fire-arms or other weapons, except with his consent. The same with Kaffer subjects entering the colony, except that their passport shall be from the British authorities, and shall only be granted on the authority of a respectable and responsible chief; those found without passes, shall, for the first offence, be sent to the nearest pakati; for the second, be punished by the colonial laws; excepting also Kaffers, or others, in the service of traders, agents, and missionaries, whose passes shall be sufficient. (Rules are laid down for the guidance of agents, and other

British subjects, in granting passes.) Except also all belonging to military posts, and all escorts, and those keeping open communications. Free communication between the Kat and Koonap Rivers, the Tambookie territory, and Shiloh Missionary Station, is also stipulated for.

Article 16.—British subjects entering the Kaffer territory under other circumstances than those specified and stipulated, do so at their own risk, and may be expelled, or remain subject to the laws of the Kaffers.

Article 17.—The lawful trader to be protected and encouraged, and neither he nor any other British subject made to suffer in any matter connected with witchcraft; engage to give them free access to British agents, and to pay due attention to the representation of the agents in their behalf; goes on to prescribe rules for the guidance of agents in this matter.

Article 18.—Free access to British vessels to any port, to trade and to land military stores; which stores may be carried under escort to any post on the frontier; no right, however, to build forts, military works, or to maintain a garrison at any port or harbour; shipwrecked persons and property to be protected and conducted to the nearest military post, and assistance to be given in saving life and property.

Article 19.—British subjects charged with crime or offence, other than against person or property, may demand that, previous to trial, notice shall be given to the nearest agent, who may attend and speak in behalf of the accused, and due weight shall be given to the agent's opinion.

Article 20.—British subjects committing a crime or offence in Kaffer territory, and escaping across the boundary, may be prosecuted by the agent in the British courts; and a Kaffer, aggrieved by a British

subject, will receive the same redress as would a British subject if aggrieved by a Kaffer.

Article 21 and 22.—(See Article 14.)

Article 23.—Kaffers detected in the act of committing crime within the Colony may be fired upon if they resist, or attempt to escape, and cannot be otherwise secured, or prevented from completing the crime. If secured, they will be dealt with according to Colonial law. If pursued, and not overtaken before crossing the border, they cannot be followed across by any patrol or armed party—then the course specified in the following (24) Article shall be adopted.

Article 24.—If a person in pursuit of criminals or stolen property, and not overtaking the same before he reaches the border, can make oath that he traced the criminals or property across a particular spot on the border line, that the property, when stolen, was properly guarded,—if horses, cattle, or the like, that they were guarded by armed herdsmen, and that the pursuit was commenced immediately after the property was stolen;—if the robbery was committed at night, that the property was, when stolen, properly secured in kraals, stables, or the like, and that the pursuit was commenced at least early next morning; then the person shall be at liberty to proceed to the nearest pakati, and make oath accordingly, who shall be bound at once to receive the statement, examine the traces, and, if the statement appear well founded, to use his utmost endeavours to recover the stolen property, and to secure the thieves. It is at the option of the complainant to continue the search under the pakati's guidance, provided he do not go armed, or accompanied by armed British subjects, and that he does not assist in any violence. Having, with the assistance of the pakati, or of the police, recovered the property, he may carry it to the agent, or to one

of the military posts, and must there make, to the agent or commanding officer, a statement of his proceedings, detailing the quantity and quality of the lost property—which statement he shall be afterwards liable to verify on oath. The statement made, he may carry off the property, leaving the pakati and police to pursue the criminal, and to recover compensation for their exertions through the Kaffer authorities, according to Kaffer usage. Those authorities are bound to reward them, and to apprehend and punish depredators.

Article 25.—The party pursuing stolen property as above (Article 24), may, at his option, proceed to the nearest military post; the commanding officer of which will—on his declaring himself prepared to make oath as above (Article 24), provide him with a policeman, who will accompany the complainant, and, obtaining the assistance of a pakati, examine the traces where they cross the boundary line. The complainant may then, at his option, (the pursuit proving unsuccessful) go to the nearest resident agent, and proceed as detailed in the 24th Article. Without the appellant's affidavit the agent will take no further notice of the case; goes on to specify the duty of the agent: amongst other things, being satisfied that the demand is just, he shall lay the case before the responsible Kaffer chiefs. The chiefs engage to call a council to investigate; cause the stolen property, if possible, to be recovered, and to punish the depredators. In case of failure to discover the property and depredators, sufficient proof having been afforded that the lost property was traced into their territory, the chiefs engage to afford, at the end of a month, indemnification to the full amount of the lost property, and no more, compensating the pakati and police for their exertions.

Article 26.—No person pursuing stolen property shall be at liberty to take any but his own property, even if tendered to him, or indemnification as specified above (Article 25), the penalty of so doing being that of restoring property so taken, and forfeiture of all claim to property actually lost.

Article 27.—Pledge on the part of the chiefs to encourage the propagation of Christianity throughout their territories, to protect ministers of the gospel in their persons, families, and property, and all British subjects lawfully and peaceably residing there, leaving them free access to, and communication with, the colony.

Article 28.—Also to abstain from molesting, and to render secure the Fingos located in the ceded territory, and in no way to avenge old grievances between Kaffers and Fingos—considering the latter under British protection.

The contracting chiefs promise to remain at peace with the other tribes of Kaffers, cautiously to abstain from reviving past jealousies or differences, particularly those arising out of proceedings connected with the late war; also, to live at peace with the Tambookies; to promote tranquillity among the several tribes of their own nation, with all other bordering tribes, and with the colonists.

King William's Town, December 25, 1836.

Observations on the treaty.

The contracting chiefs, Pato, Kama, and Cobus, gained by the treaties the conditional restitution of the territory which Gaika had ceded in 1819. They appear to have always denied that Gaika had the

right to cede that territory—and its restoration must, therefore, have been balm to their wounds.* But poor MAKOMO, the son of GAIKA, appears to have got nothing by the treaty, and this I have generally heard lamented; for, on account of some excesses which he had committed, or was charged with having committed, on the Tambookies, following them within the colony, he was in 1829 forcibly expelled from that portion of the territory ceded by his father on the banks of the Kat and Mancazana Rivers, where he had managed in 1822 to establish himself. He is living within our territories, in the immediate neighbourhood of Fort Beaufort, is said to be a thoroughly depraved and degraded being; and it would, perhaps, be now useless as well as impolitic to endeavour to better his condition.† To the sympathy of the chiefs and people of Kafferland in MAKOMO's misfortunes, if not to their sense of the injustice done to him, is, however, generally ascribed the mighty combination which led to their general irruption into the colony in 1834—5. The injury to the Kaffers, and consequent danger to ourselves, of depriving them of land, is described by Col. SOMERSET in the following words:—"The retirement of different chiefs, with their people, across the Keiskama or border, caused much confusion among themselves, and led to internal-territorial arrangements; frequent disputes among themselves

* This territory, (afterwards known as the Neutral Territory) GAIKA had, probably, not the right to cede; for all our power, as exercised, failed to support him in the supremacy to which we (about the time of the cession) raised him, over even unarmed chiefs and people.

† Since this was written I have had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with MAKOMO, and, so far as I can judge, he is a very remarkable man, whose good sense and good feeling may be enlisted with great advantage in securing peace on both sides of the border. Captain STRETCH considers that since our policy towards him was changed, he has become quite a reformed character.—April 25.

were the cause of aggressions within our territory."—(See Remarks and Observations on Kaffer Tribes.) The evil is indeed in itself so obvious, and is so well described in the Evidence taken by, and the Report of the Aborigines' Committee of the House of Commons, as to require no illustration—but it bears differently on different communities, and perhaps more injuriously on a pastoral than on an agricultural people.

Another great advantage which the Kaffers gained by the treaty was their freedom for ever from the horrors* of the Commando System, and the evils nccessarily attending its substitute, the patrol system; which, although exempt from the evils of the former, (that is, leaving it to men with arms in their hands to avenge their own cause,) and sure to be free from unnecessary cruelty, since the patrol was commanded by a British officer, and composed of British troops,—still left it their duty to enforce restitution from the kraal to which stolen cattle were either traced or supposed to be traced by their owner, who, for this purpose, accompanied the patrol, and in this system there might, of course, be both cruelty and injustice; from this, then, the Kaffers were likewise relieved by the treaty.

The treaty was negotiated by Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, the Lieut.-Governor of the North-Eastern Provinces, under instructions from the Governor of the colony, grounded on the instructions of the Colonial Secretary. Par. Papers, Oct. 13, 1836. Dec. 26, 1835.

What appears to me peculiar in the treaty is, prescribing rules for the guidance of our own agents, and of officers commanding posts, as in the 12th Arti-

* For an account of the organization and operations of the great commando of 1774—5, see 1st Head.

cle, (where, too, the British agent is made an agent for the Kaffers) the 17th, 21st, and 25th Articles; also, prescribing rules* for the guidance of our own subjects, as in the 24th and 26th Articles. Whether this was done at the request of the Kaffer chiefs, I cannot, of course, tell. But these are obviously matters for orders and legislation, and not for negotiation.

There is the further peculiarity of not permitting individuals to pass the colonial border armed—Article 14—and of engaging that British troops, even in the ceded territory, in keeping open the communications between forts and posts, and as escorts, shall not deviate from the line of communication—Article 7.

This doubtless arose out of the apprehension of the Kaffer chiefs and people, and from their experience of the horrors of the commando system, and of the injuries inflicted, perhaps on the innocent, from the visits of patrols in search of stolen property. The engagement may be embarrassing hereafter, for it is to be hoped that the period is not far distant when Kaffer chiefs and people will ascertain that disciplined British troops may traverse their country from end to end, without doing them any harm; that they are neither commandos nor patrols requiring restitution of stolen property, or anything else of them; and this once ascertained, their presence would be courted rather than feared. As the treaty at present stands, government has not the right to march a force through Kafferland, nor can our agents traverse it with a military escort—a condition of things not, certainly,

* No stolen property, fairly traced home to the Kaffers, should, I think, be irreclaimable through treaty, even if lost through collusion on the part of the owners with robbers, or through neglect. It is for government to prescribe rules for the safe keeping of property; and, when those rules have not been conformed to, resist all applications for indemnification from our neighbours, on the part of the owners of property so lost.

consistent with our supremacy. But negotiation to gain this right might cause uneasiness, and there is nothing in the matter urgent or important,—for when the Kaffers give us sufficient cause, a declaration of war will follow, and then troops will necessarily enter their country.

Whilst, however, the treaty secured peace and protection to the Kaffers, this does not appear to have been the case with our own subjects, and, accordingly, the 16th, 24th, 25th, and 26th Articles were amended in 1840.

The amendments are :—

Art. 16.—Any person in pursuit of stolen cattle may now enter the Kaffer country, with consent of the chiefs, without restriction as to passports.

Art. 24.—Any person in pursuit, &c. not overtaking or recovering before he shall reach the line, making oath that he carried the trace across the boundary line—that the property, when stolen, was properly guarded, if cattle, horses, &c., tended by a herdsman ; that the pursuit was commenced within a reasonable time ; that, if it was a night robbery, the property, when stolen, was properly secured in kraals, stables, or the like, and that the pursuit was commenced next day,—such person may then proceed to the pakati, who shall examine the traces, and use his utmost endeavours to recover the property.

Art. 25.—The party pursuing stolen property may proceed to the commanding officer of the nearest post, who shall provide a pakati or policeman, who shall proceed to examine the traces. The pursuer may proceed to the agent, who shall, on his affidavit, lay the case before the responsible chief, who engages to recover from the depredators the property or its value, with such amount of damages as the agent may assess on account of injury done to the property.

If in a month the perpetrators and property shall not have been discovered, the chiefs engage, sufficient proof having been afforded, to give indemnification within fourteen days.

Art. 26.—Except the indemnification specified above, or in the appended article, no person pursuing stolen property shall take any but his own property, unless tendered to him.

The amendments amount to this,—that a person may now enter the Kaffer country in pursuit of lost cattle without a pass. That it is not now necessary that he should make oath that he saw his cattle or the plunderers cross a particular spot on the line—it being sufficient that he should swear that he saw them cross the boundary line; it is not now necessary, to entitle the owner to reclaim, that his cattle or horses shall be guarded by armed* herdsmen, but sufficient that they are tended by a herdsman; nor is it necessary that the pursuit shall be commenced immediately—that it is commenced within

* In India it has been found necessary to rule, that, to entitle either our own or foreign subjects to reclaim property, or its value, lost in our own or in foreign territories, through open violence or theft, the loser must prove that the property was sufficiently guarded according to its value; and if attacked, defended—for it was found that the owners of despatches of merchandize, bullion, &c., were sometimes in collusion with robbers. Having insured their property, they had three reasons for having it plundered: 1st, That they might come on the insurance office, like sailors who purposely lose their ship. 2ndly, That they might purchase it back from the robbers under its value. 3rdly, They expected something by way of *hush*-money from the state in whose territory it was lost, and which, under our supremacy, and according to native usage, is held responsible. We were, however, a long time in making this discovery, and it was at last made, only four or five years ago, by Marwar, a native state, which had become responsible for lost property to the amount of some £10 or £20,000. Now no British diplomatic officer can claim indemnification for plundered property from a native state until the owner shall have proved that it was properly guarded.

a reasonable time is sufficient; or, if a night robbery, that the pursuit shall be commenced the next day, instead of, as formerly, at the latest, early next morning. Now a pakati is not rendered the judge of whether a statement be well founded, to make it necessary for him to assist in the recovery of lost property; nor is it necessary that the loser of stolen property should declare before an officer commanding one of our posts, that he is prepared to make oath, to entitle him to the services of a pakati or policeman, to assist in tracing his property. By the original treaty the agent was to take no further notice of a case, unless a complaint were made upon oath, stating particular circumstances, the nature of the property stolen, &c. Now affidavit being made of the actual robbery, the agent, seeing no reason to discredit the same, shall proceed to lay the case before the responsible chief. In the event of the property and plunderers being discovered, the chief shall take from them restitution or compensation, with such amount of damages as the agent shall assess as a reasonable allowance for injury done to the lost property; indemnification shall thus be afforded to the loser of property within fourteen days, instead of at once, as formerly. The loser of property is now permitted to take other property than his own, as above specified, and also in the appended Article, if tendered to him—which formerly he was not permitted to do, even if tendered.

These are, doubtless, important concessions—all in favor of the colony—except where fourteen days are given to the chiefs to afford indemnification, instead of having, as formerly, to do so at once. The peculiarity of specifying to our own agents and officers commanding posts, how they are to perform their duty —Article 25—to our subjects what precautions they

are to take to render their property secure—Article 24; and the still greater, and perhaps objectionable, peculiarity, of dictating to the native chiefs how they are to deal with their own subjects in recovering stolen property,—Article 25—is retained in the amended as in the original Articles.

The appended Article, noticed in the 26th amended Article, is—

The chiefs engage, that, although the person in pursuit of stolen property may be unable or unwilling to make the prescribed affidavit, still, if the pursuer has good and sufficient reason to believe that his property has been carried across the border line, then the pursuer, having sent information to the pakati, nearest the spot where he intends to cross the line, is at liberty to proceed at once, unarmed, unaccompanied by armed British subjects, and not assisting in any violence, in pursuit of his property; the pakati is then bound to afford every assistance. In the event of the pursuer tracing his property to a responsible party, or kraal, he is to proceed to the diplomatic agent accredited to the tribe to which the kraal belongs, and there report proceedings. The agent being satisfied with the proof adduced, will immediately lay the case before the captain of the kraal, who shall cause restitution of property, or give compensation; failing to do this, then the agent will lay the case before the contracting chief, to whose territory the kraal belongs, and the chief will cause restitution of property to be made, or compensation to be afforded. The chiefs engage in all such cases to punish the depredators if discovered; if not discovered, then to punish the captain of the kraal to which they were traced.

Further: If any person shall not be able to comply with the regulations set forth, but shall have ascertained that his property has been taken across the

boundary, he may proceed across the line in search of the same, provided he sends notice to the pakati of his intentions, goes unarmed, unaccompanied by armed British subjects, and assists in no violence. On his discovering his property, and affording sufficient proof of its identity, and of the correctness of his statement to the agent, he shall demand from the chief of the territory, where the property is discovered and identified, its restitution. The chief shall, likewise, cause the party, in whose possession the property is found, to pay such amount of damages as the agent and the chief may decide to be equitable.

The chiefs also engage that, when information is given to them that a murder has been committed in the colony, and that the murderer has escaped beyond the boundary, they will use every endeavour to apprehend and deliver him to justice; also, to afford to government information when other chiefs of tribes may harbour in their country the murderers of colonial subjects.

Lastly,—The chiefs agree that the alterations made in the treaty, as well as the appended clauses, shall have as much force and effect as if they had been embodied in the treaty itself.

The appended clause affords further facility to colonists to search after stolen property, to prove their loss, and to recover it, or its value, with compensation for injury done to it, step by step, through the police and pakati of the native chiefs, and through our own agents. Yet there is a general sense of insecurity of life and property among the colonial borderers, and actual proof of aggression on the part of the Kaffers, which show that the system, however well designed in 1836, and amended in 1840, after four years' experience of its working, does not yet altogether work well; for it is, of course,

necessary, not only that all should be safe within our own border, but necessary, or, at all events, very important, that all should feel that they are safe in their persons and property. What strikes one at first is, that sufficient assistance is not afforded from the colony, to the losers of property, to trace it home to Kafferland; this being obviously the duty of government, through its police, as well on behalf of the individual sufferer, as for the purpose of checking robbery on the part of the Kaffers.

A system has been lately adopted in India, for the adjustment of petty international differences, of a criminal character, in which it is the duty of the British government to mediate and control, which has been attended with the happiest results. The several states forming the circle of a political superintendency, under any residency or agency, have their pakatis, or agents, accredited to the resident for the disposal of ordinary business; out of these foreign agents a standing court of arbitration is formed for the adjustment of such international questions; all such questions, as they arise, are referred to this court.* It takes evidence and passes its decree, and the decree is enforced by the resident, when he considers it unobjectionable; or, in more important cases, or where this is desired by the court, the resident himself, or one of his assistants, takes his seat in the court, and votes with the other members, or has the casting vote. The agent of the state, whose subject is the complainant, or defendant,

* Colonel Smith says, in proposing the trial of offenders delivered up to us, by a Kaffer jury, (letter to His Excellency the Governor, 12th February, 1836) "Those ignorant of Kaffer manners will say, 'oh, the Kaffers would never find their people guilty;' such, I say, is not the case; I never saw more honest or more unprejudiced people when assembled for such purposes, or evidences who more plainly speak out without lying."

always has a seat in the court as the representative of their interests; or, where the plaintiff or defendant is a British subject, the resident, or one of his assistants, is there. But, although there, such representatives of individual interests do not always vote, this being generally left to their own sense* of right. Such a decision is necessarily more satisfactory to both plaintiff and defendant, whether it be a state, or one of its subjects, than the decision of an individual could be. The court is an open one, and has the additional advantage of showing to all the world that justice is done according to treaty or usage, without favor or affection, whilst it accustoms the natives to our modes of transacting business, and, which is not less important, accustoms us to their modes, leading to a general co-operation in the administration of international justice and the prevention of crime.

There are materials here for the formation of such a court, and for ensuring the attendance of defendants and witnesses, in the pakati, the resident agents, and the agent general, and its institution could not fail, I think, to produce very beneficial results here, as it has done in India.

Predatory character of chiefs and people.

There can, of course, be no doubt of the predatory habits of the Kaffer people, as of most, if not all, pastoral and especially nomade tribes. There are, however, two things which render it somewhat difficult to deal with them, to repress their predatory habits, and to secure our own safety.

* It is but justice to a native of India—PEER KHAN—the agent of the Jeypoor government, to say that, when this international court was only yet experimental, he declined, as a member of the court, to vote in a case in which a subject of his own government was either plaintiff or defendant, observing that his vote would turn the scale either in favor of, or against, a person whose cause, he considered, he was there only to advocate; out of this arose the resolution to leave it to the sense of right in members of the court, so circumstanced, to vote or remain silent.

Remarks and observations on the Kaffer tribes to the Eastward of the colony.

1st. The rulers are believed to participate in the spoils of their subjects; and, therefore, if not to encourage, at least to wink at their proceedings. On this subject Colonel SOMERSET says:—"There is no settled revenue for the royal support, which depends on the king's private patrimony, for the people never give up any property to him; nor can he deprive them of it without sufficient pretence. Besides the alleged or real offences of his subjects, for which fines are levied, he receives or seizes a portion of the property acquired through predatory incursions on neighbours. If restitution be required, and the king is not prepared to sanction or defend the aggression, the whole of the aggressor's property is seized; and what may remain after restitution is made, belongs to the king. When a subordinate chief takes possession of the property of one of his people, a portion is sent to the royal kraal."

Such usages (for Colonel SOMERSET says, there are no laws, (as, indeed, there can hardly be statute laws) where there is no written language,) are certainly sufficient to make robbers of a whole people—the evil commencing with the ruler. It would appear, however, that plundering is a real offence, and that thus the ruler is entitled, unless prepared to sanction or defend the aggression, to confiscate the whole of the aggressor's property. The actual aggressor, when detected, is therefore always playing a losing game; and as the ruler can hardly, in the face of our mighty power, sanction or defend the aggression without playing a losing game too, the evil itself, (which, indeed, belongs to a different state of things from what at present exists,) ought not to be very difficult to deal with, and will very soon be checked by the introduction of a system, steadily followed out, which shall trace home all aggressions, and by never failing

to hold the ruler responsible in every individual case.

2ndly. It is believed that robbery is so universally practised among the Kaffers, and the practice so cherished by them, that an attempt to check it systematically would be so unpopular as to shake the ruler on his seat—(for throne one cannot call it.)

If this be really the case, the remedy would be for us to aid the ruler in his endeavour, and to punish at his instance, by the exercise of our power within his territory, in any prominent cases, those who resist his will, or question his right to put down the evil. In so doing there is not the danger, in this case at all events, that we are strengthening the hands of the ruler in a manner calculated to be injurious to the rights or interests of his people. The high and almost superstitious reverence in which the Kaffers are well known to hold their rulers, would soon aid us in this endeavour, for by holding the ruler responsible for aggressions, and by showing the people that his safety is endangered by their acts, robbery, as a system, might be expected gradually to cease. The introduction of our supremacy would thus very soon become a blessing, and eventually be so estimated by the chiefs and people themselves.*

For a predatory people the Kaffers are the most harmless and the least addicted to violence of any to be met with. They appear hardly ever to steal anything but horses and cattle; or, if sheep, it is only

* This paper was written before I had read "Bannister's Humane Policy." He says:—"A due regard paid to those who are leaders among the natives themselves, will cherish a more substantial responsibility in their own and in our eyes; and the searching examination of justice in the various relations between us, will pave the way for improvements of every kind; calculated in a few years to raise our neighbours to a condition in which they may safely be left to their own guidance."—Page 19 et seq.

for immediate slaughter and subsistenee, carrying away the portions which they have not time or opportunity to eat. Even these things they seldom attaek openly, or in gangs, not even by night, in stables or kraals, if watched, although they appear sometimes to resist the openly taking from them their plundered property by its owners.

Even to this extent the Kaffers are not, universally, plunderers, for there could hardly be more peaceable or inoffensive foreign neighbours than the Tambookies. The Amakosies are the most, or only troublesome people, and, unfortunately, they lie behind that portion of the border which is most aecessible, as well from the Keiskama, being there more fordable, as from the eountry being more* wooded. Lower down, or in front of the Amagakabies, the Congo tribe, the river is only fordable at a few points. Higher up, in front of the Tambookies, the eountry is too open to admit of predatory ineursions; and there is no doubt, I believe, that most of the eattle stolen from the Somerset Distriet, and even from the Tarka, are earried by the Amakosies across their border. The small spaee between Fort Peddie and the Hottentot settlement on the Kat River, is really the only portion of the border that, therefore, requires to be strietly guarded (for the Hottentots are too thiekly studded in that settlement, there being 600 locations in a small space, to admit of stolen cattle being run through them,) and the Amakosies are the only tribe that require to be closely watched.

If I am right in all this, it follows that the present treaties give us sufficient right to cheek the predatory habits of the Kaffers, and to proteet our own people.

* Whether these circumstances have not made the Amakosies greater plunderers than their neighbours?

The machinery which I have proposed under the second Head and this Head, will give us ample power for these purposes—provided only that the Resident Agents have sufficient authority from their own Government—power of the best kind always at hand, particularly to search out stolen property, and to render their authority respected by the Kaffers, they will have in the Frontier Legion. But the Agent General must exercise a much more efficient control over the proceedings of the Resident Agents on the spot—much I think is wanting in this respect in that important office to ensure uniformity of system throughout—for at present the Agent General resides at Graham's Town, far away from the Border, and mostly in attendance on the Lieut.-Governor. This machinery working well, the duty of the Lieut.-Governor over all would be that of very general supervision—and His Honor's Quarterly Courts at Fort Beaufort would become more matters of ceremony with the Kaffer chiefs than Courts for the transaction of business.

Proposed amendment in the treaty.

But the treaty, as it appears to me, is very defective in not being defensive as well as of peace and amity, although, indeed, there is a glimmering of a defensive treaty in the 2d section of the 28th Article—I shall accordingly endeavour to show the advantage to the Kaffers, and to us, in a defensive treaty.

It would give us the right of protecting those with whom we were so allied against foreign invasion, which, of course, would be an inestimable benefit conferred on them. It would enable us to call on our allies to assist in the protection of the colony, if menaced or attacked from any quarter, and to this extent would have the effect of breaking up any confederacy which may exist for evil among the Kaffer chiefs, rendering the British Government the acknowledged head and protector in all cases where it had defensive

treaties with chiefs, and mediator in all cases where its mediation might be required. It appears that the Kaffers were in danger of being destroyed, or pushed on the colony in 1828 by the Mantatees or the Fieani, who themselves were pushed from the North-east by the Zoola Chief CHAKA. The forward march of Colonel SOMERSET and Major DUNDAS defeated and checked the career of the Mantatees. There was, however, some hesitation and question of our right to interpose, although our aid was requested. A defensive allianee would of course teach the Kaffers to look to our proteetion under such exigeneies, and save the colony from the danger of their being foreed into it by pressure from without.

CHASE'S Eastern Frontier.

Col. SOMERSET'S Dispatches.

It would also give us the right of proteeting all chiefs with whom we were so allied, and save the inferior chiefships from the encroachments of the more powerful—and from this the wars of the Kaffers appear prineipally to arise. Taught to look to our protection *, in the two important matters of external invasion, and aggression on the part of one chiefship on another, all would the more readily and systematically court our interposition in those internal eonfliets, or eivil wars, to which rude feudalisms, like those of the Kaffers, and even more perfeet feudalisms, are always so liable.

That universal peace may be ensured through a well regulated system of supervision over the affairs of feudal chiefships, where both the ruler and the feudal chiefs appeal for assistanee, or where one party appeals, our experienee in India affords almost every

* The whole of this paper was written before I had seen Mr. Attorney-General Bannister's Work,—see quarto edition, London, 1830, page 43.—There is of course no doubt that defensive treaties would, in international law, give us the right of protecting our allies, however the case may stand in national law.

day proof, — also, that amongst sovereignties and chiefships of far higher pretensions than those of the Kaffers, such interposition is not only not offensive, but that it is courted and prized by all parties as the greatest favour that can be conferred on them, particularly after they have ascertained by past experience in their own case, or in the case of their neighbours, that the supreme protecting or arbitrating power aims at no selfish or interested objects, and only desires general peace, and the welfare of both, or of all, parties. History would, indeed, appear to teach us that feudal forms of government, however well suited to an imperfect condition of society and of law, cannot stand alone; but that such feudalisms, in all parts of the world, have been subject to some superior or arbitrating power.

There is of course no doubt that the invasion of the colony, during the last years of the Dutch rule (and the condition in which Sir JAMES CRAIG and Lord MACARTNEY found it) was by expatriated chiefs, and that they sought our mediation; or that, in Professor LICHTENSTEIN's opinion, the wars of the Kaffers were occasioned by the rebellion of the chiefs against their common king, or by the desire of the king to bring a separate tribe under subjection, and make it tributary to him; and that the revolt of the chiefs led to the invasion of the colony during GAIKA's minority. For the account of the endeavour, in communication with both parties, to bring about a reconciliation—see General JANSEN's Journal.—Supremacy, however, for the good of all, and the safety of the colony, has never been thoroughly or systematically introduced.

BARROW, vol. 2nd, page 126, &c.

LICHTENSTEIN, fol. ed., page 277, &c.

Do., page 290, 293—4.

Do., page 302, to 333.

And for all these reasons there is no doubt, I think, that defensive treaties should be negotiated with the several rulers.

The scheme for military colonies which I have sketched under the second Head, with that for conducting our political relations with the Kaffer tribes under this Head, would, I have no doubt, very soon insure safety within our own borders, and eventually peace in Kafferland.

All interference with the usages of the chiefs and people must, however, I think, be touched with a very delicate hand, or not touched at all, by the officers of government, however revolting some of those usages may be to our better feelings, and repugnant to our sense of right.

Even the infliction of torture and other punishments, under the pretence that those to be tortured and punished, had recourse to witchcraft, may be necessary to the very existence of the ruler of a rude feudalism, or to the exercise of his authority over it, for it may be necessary "to make a bonny rebel" of a too powerful chief, or to pull down a too aspiring subject; and in the proceedings of the Kaffer courts, treason and charges of witchcraft seem to be treated alike, and in a different manner from other crimes. (See Colonel Somerset's papers.)

These are, therefore, things which must, I fear, be left in the hands of the ruler, or to find a corrective amongst the subordinate chiefs and the people, until the slow operations of the missionary and the schoolmaster, who are now extensively abroad among them, and the spread of our blessed religion, shall gradually modify, and eventually correct, all that is most atrocious.

To such things, I would venture to say, ought the missionaries exclusively to address themselves, for their interference in state affairs is dangerous. They are hardly under the control of government, and not its servants; they may misapprehend its views, or

from their own views of what is right, have an object in counteracting the views of government. They belong to different societies; and, in matters of this kind, are often more disposed to counteract one another than to act in concert, or to establish one uniform system, through which Kaffers of all denominations along the whole border may understand what they have to hope and what to fear. The missionaries should not, therefore, ever, I think, be employed as the medium of communication in political affairs between the government or its representatives and the Kaffers. The good they do in Kafferland in their own holy calling, is undoubtedly beyond estimation; and there, too, they have employment enough, the most interesting and useful this world can afford. Too much was, perhaps, done for the missionaries in stipulating through treaty, for even their personal safety; for there are two very obvious reasons why ministers of religion should, in a foreign country, be left entirely to their own resources, and why, under such circumstances, there should be no connexion between church and state. Of this, some of these good men are themselves conscious.

It may be difficult for an enlightened and beneficent government to shut its eyes upon such atrocities as I have noticed amongst the Kaffers, or to abstain from too rudely or suddenly attempting to correct and mitigate them. But since the days of miracles are gone, the endeavour to abstain will be strengthened and confirmed by constantly bearing in mind that they are not our own subjects, and changes are not to be suddenly effected amongst any people.

The discovery yet, apparently, remains to be made how a high degree of civilization can come in contact with one infinitely lower, without almost destroying those who have the misfortune to belong to it.

Spain did not certainly make the discovery, neither did Portugal, Holland, nor has France yet made it;—and America is far from having made it, since she still, through her President, advocates yearly, her right to hold man in slavery, and to push back or destroy the aborigines for the benefit of her citizens.

England disclaims such rights, and has set to the nations of the world the great example of sacrificing enormously in behalf of 800,000 of the former race of men, and of abstinence and self-denial in behalf of the latter. It almost seems as if the supremacy of our great and glorious country over the savage and semi-barbarous nations of the world were, in itself, a miracle. It now only remains for England to show that she not only spares them, and leaves what is wrong in their institutions to the slow but sure correction of time through the spread of religion and knowledge; but that, in this, she has found out the secret not only of saving but of raising those savage and semi-barbarous people in the scale of humanity.

J. SUTHERLAND,
Lt.-Col. 2d Regt. Bombay Cavalry.

Note.—Dispatched from Graaff-Reinet, September 11, 1844.

SUBSTANCE OF THE TREATY BETWIXT THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY AND THE CHIEFS OF LOWER KAFFERLAND, VIZ., OF THE SLAMBIE, CONGO, AND FINGO TRIBES.

Art 1.—To repeal all existing treaties with these tribes, excepting so much of them as define the boundaries of the territory of each tribe, the conditions upon which they occupy their respective portions of the ceded territory, and reserve the right of the British government to erect forts or station troops in any part thereof, as the governor of the colony for the time being may think proper.

Art. 2.—Peace and amity to be confirmed and continued between the contracting parties.

Art. 3.—The agent of the British government to continue, with these tribes, to carry out the provisions of this treaty, and to conduct all negotiations between the contracting parties.

Art. 4.—British traders to be protected while in the territory of either chief in their persons, families, and property; but those chiefs, whose territory is bounded by the sea, engage not to permit the master or owner of any vessel to land cargoes of merchandize, or to traffic with his people in any part of his country, unless such vessel is furnished with a licence from the governor of the colony for this purpose.

Art. 5.—Each chief engages and binds himself to apprehend, if possible, and deliver up for trial in the colony to the agent, whenever so required, any person, whether his subject or otherwise, who, having committed, or being reasonably suspected of having committed, within the colony, the crime of murder, assault, theft of cattle or horses, or any other crime cognizable by the courts of this colony, shall have escaped into Kafferland.

Art. 6.—The governor of the colony engages and

binds himself to cause to be apprehended, if possible, for the purpose of being brought to trial in the colony whenever so required by the proper chief, any person, whether a British subject or otherwise, who having committed, or being reasonably suspected of having committed within the territory of either of the contracting chiefs, any of the crimes enumerated in the preceding Article, shall have escaped into the colony.

Art. 7.—The contracting parties engage to cause all persons, within their respective jurisdictions, who may be required as witnesses to appear before the proper courts of law in the colony, upon any trial which may take place in regard to the crimes enumerated in the two preceding Articles, the governor of the colony undertaking to pay the reasonable expences of all such witnesses.

Art. 8.—Whenever any British subject, or person residing within the colony, shall have lost and can identify any cattle, horses, or other moveable property in the possession of any subject or other person residing within the territory of either of the contracting chiefs, such property shall be immediately restored, upon the requisition of the agent to the person claiming it, and unless the person in whose possession it was found can prove that he acquired such property honestly, not knowing it to have been stolen, the chief of the tribe to which such person belongs engages to compensate the owner for any damage he may have sustained; the contracting chiefs will, however, be relieved from the payment of such compensation upon surrendering the person in whose possession the property was found, for trial in the colony, as a receiver of stolen property. But if such person shall be reasonably suspected of being the thief, and not the receiver of the stolen property, he will of course, as

already provided for, be delivered up for trial in the colony.

Art. 9.—Whenever any British subject, or other person residing within the colony, can prove that cattle, horses, or other moveable property have been stolen from him, and he can satisfactorily trace such property into the territory of either of the contracting chiefs, such contracting chief hereby engages, although such property cannot be recovered, to compensate him for such loss, provided the claimant can prove that he used due diligence in the care of such property, and provided also that such chief can not prove, either by witnesses or by the spoor, that such property has passed from his territory into that of an adjoining tribe. The contracting chief will, however, be relieved from the payment of such compensation upon his surrendering the person or persons who stole such property.

Art. 10.—The governor of the colony engages to cause a competent tribunal (of which tribunal the agent will not be a member) to be held from time to time, either within the colony or the territory of the contracting chiefs, to hear and determine as well upon the matters of fact as upon the amounts of compensation which will require adjudication under the two preceding articles, before which tribunals either the colonists or the subjects of the contracting chiefs may appeal against the decisions of the agent under this treaty.

Art. 11.—The contracting chiefs having admitted into their territories Christian missionaries for the instruction of their subjects, hereby engage to protect the persons, families, and property of all Christian teachers who may reside amongst them.

Art. 12.—The contracting chiefs engage to permit any of their subjects who profess the Christian reli-

gion, or who desire to settle at or near the missionary villages or institutions within their territories, respectively, to take their property with them to such institutions without being molested or injured in any way; and they further engage that such persons shall not be disturbed or injured in their persons, families, or property, for refusing to comply with the Kaffer customs of witchcraft, rain-making, polygamy, circumcision, forcible abduction, and violation of females.

Art. 13.—The contracting chiefs bind themselves to encourage their subjects to cause the regular attendance of their children at the schools of the Christian teachers within their territories.

Art. 14.—The contracting chiefs engage to abstain from making war as much as possible on the tribes to whom they are adjacent, and that before doing so they will request the mediation of the colonial government, with a view of settling amicably the differences between them.

Art. 15.—The governor of the colony engages to defend the contracting chiefs, in their respective territories, against any enemy who shall attack or make war upon either of them, provided such attack or war has not been occasioned by any aggression or any other act of injustice on the part of the contracting chief, or by his having neglected or declined the mediation of the colonial government.

Art. 16.—The contracting chiefs, on their part, engage not to permit any tribe, or the property of any tribe who may be at war with the colony, or who may be known to them, or either of them, to have hostile intentions towards the colony, to pass through or remain within their territory; and in the event of the government having received intimation of the hostile intentions of any such tribe before the same has come to the knowledge of the contracting chiefs, they en-

gage not to permit such tribe, or the property of such tribe, to pass through or remain within their territory, upon being so required by the government of the colony.

Art. 17.—The governor of the colony engages to establish within the united territories of the contracting chiefs such military post or posts as he may deem neeessary for their proteetion.

Art. 18.—The governor of the colony, as a mark of friendship, and to enable the eontraeting ehiefs to employ proper persons to apprehend eriminals, and to prevent property stolen within the colony from being brought into their territories, engages to make an annual present in money or useful articles to the amount of £100 to the chiefs of the Slambie tribe, £50 to the ehiefs of the Congo tribe, and £50 to the ehiefs of the Fingo tribes resident at Fort Peddie settlement; the latter to be applied to the establishment of sehools, and the improvement of the Fingoes in civilization, so long as they observe the terms of this treaty, and remain the faithful allies of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.—*Graham's Town Journal, Sept.* 26, 1844.

NOTE ON THE PROPOSED KAFFER TREATY, AS PUBLISHED IN THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL" OF SEPTEMBER 26, 1844.

Art. 5. In India we should never think of requiring any state, having a shadow of independent rights, to deliver up its subjects, who may have eommitted crimes in our territories, for trial in our courts.

1st. Because this would not be in eonformity with international law, and however unequal in power the

contracting parties may be, it is always the object in negotiation to be governed by that law.

2ndly. Because this is requiring an independent chief to do that which is calculated to hurt his feelings, personal and national; to lower him in his own estimation, and in the estimation of his people; and it is necessarily the object to raise him in both respects.

3rdly. Because we cannot in this matter act in terms of reciprocity, or deliver up our subjects, who may have committed crimes in his territory—nor is this necessary, for they are sure, on sufficient proof being afforded by the complaining party, to be sufficiently punished by our laws. In the same manner there cannot, under a well regulated system of international communication, be much difficulty in affording proof in the Kaffer courts against those who commit offences in our territory, or, proof afforded, much difficulty on the part of our agents in getting such persons sufficiently punished in their own country, according to their own laws. This course being more in conformity with what the Kaffers must consider due to them, will, in all probability, work better, and give less trouble, than that of subjecting foreign subjects to trial in our courts, and consequently to punishments in our jails, or in any other manner, revolting, in all probability, to Kaffer feeling. The probability indeed is, that it will, as in India, in a very short time, become necessary to intercede with the Kaffer chiefs, in order to save those charged with crimes against us from punishments too disproportioned in severity to the offence.

Art. 6. It appears to me that stipulations about the delivering up of foreign criminals, had much better be excluded from treaties, and that each case, as it occurs, should be settled on its merits; for such settlements, when conducted in a proper spirit, are

more calculated to draw closer ties of friendship and amity (especially so, to bind the weaker party) than any engagements can be. Persons charged with crime, and caught within the territory of the state against whose laws they have offended, may of course be tried by those laws, to which they have fairly rendered themselves amenable—be they subjects of the British, or of any other government.

7. Securing the attendance of witnesses, and petty matters of that kind, had better, I think, be left for adjustment between the agents of the contracting parties, acting in friendly co-operation, than be stipulated for through treaty. If the matter under adjustment belongs to the international court, then of course there can be no difficulty in securing the attendance of witnesses, for it will be the interest of the state, whether it be the plaintiff or the defendant party, that witnesses should attend.

Art. 8. Here again it appears to me unnecessary that the native chief should be required to bind himself to surrender a thief, and far better that the responsibility of dealing with the thief should be left to the chief himself, for he will very soon find it necessary, if held responsible for losses sustained by the colonists at the hands of his subjects, to inflict such punishment as will stop the system of plunder to which the Kaffers are, at present, so prone.

Art. 9. It may be deemed necessary, in treating with the Kaffer chiefs, to enlighten them on such subjects. But oral explanation would probably be better, and more suitable, than stipulations through treaty, on trivial matters.

Art. 10. The international courts in India are not necessarily courts of appeal, although they may be required to act in that capacity. They are, generally, employed as what are called, I think, courts of first

instance, and take up and settle all international questions, with the British government, or between separate states, as they arise, that is:—any person entitled to the protection of the British government, either as its own subject, or as the subject of a state in defensive alliance with it, complains to the resident or agent of injury sustained in person or property, at the hands of a subject of another state.* It then becomes the duty of the resident or agent to refer the matter for adjustment to the international court, which passes its decree; the award of the court, if unobjectionable, is then enforced against the state, whose subject is the offending party. If there be any appearance, or apprehension of delay, in recovering the amount of indemnity awarded by the court, the sum is frequently disbursed at once from the British treasury, in order to save the sufferer from further suffering, through delay. Eventually, of course, there can be no difficulty in recovering the amount from the native state. In India we should never think of excluding our own agent from being a member of the "competent tribunal," for that might injure his position in the eyes of the public. But if the court were a court of appeal in a matter against his decree, then, of course, he would not be a member of such court.

Art. 11.—I said in my observations on the original Kaffer treaties, that I thought there were two very obvious reasons why ministers of the gospel, residing in foreign territories, should not, through treaty, be protected by the supreme power; but this is a matter in which we have no experience in India.

Art. 12.—Many, or most, of the states of India

* The court has, of course, no jurisdiction in purely national affairs; and the person who should complain of injury sustained at the hands of his own chief, or fellow subject, would not be listened to.

have sanctuaries or asylums in their territories; but they would not, certainly, permit any other state or power to form asylums there. The Kaffers, too, have places of asylum. But I should apprehend that by stipulating, through treaty, that foreign missionary stations shall be sanctuaries, for their own, or foreign subjects, residing within Kaffer territories, injury may be done to the cause of religion itself.

Art. 13.—In India we have educational institutions within some of the foreign states, and people of course send their children there or not, just in proportion to the estimation in which those institutions are held, or instruction is sought after. But to require the chiefs to stipulate through treaty, that their people should send their children to our schools, would, undoubtedly, be considered persecution, and would defeat the object sought.

Art. 18.—In India this would be dangerous, for the native states would immediately say that the British government paid them tribute, and the party paying tribute is always, of course, considered the inferior party.

J. SUTHERLAND,

Lt.-Col. 2d Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry.

Graaff-Reinet,
September 11, 1844.

Note.—Put under cover and sent without letter or note to the Colonial Secretary, September 11.

From Lieut.-Colonel SUTHERLAND,
To the Honorable JOHN MONTAGU,
Colonial Secretary,
Camp.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH the Second and Third Heads of the Memoir which I have been intruding on you regarding the Kaffers, were despatched from Cradock and this place on the 31st August and the 11th ultimo, respectively, the First Head is still unfinished. I have been making commentaries on that Head, which is chiefly, or altogether historical; these commentaries, on the portion of the First Head already finished, amount to 15 numbers. Mr. VAN RYNEVELD has been good enough to get these commentaries privately copied for me, separate from the Memoir itself; and I have the honor to enclose them, in the hope that they may be of some use in the consideration and decision of the questions now pending. I am led to entertain this hope from having some experience in the discussion of such questions in India, and from having necessarily gained some insight into this particular question by the attention which I have given to such Records as are within my reach, relating to it.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
J. SUTHERLAND,
Lt.-Col. 2nd Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry.

Graaff-Reinet, Oct. 7, 1844.

The Honorable J. MONTAGU,
Colonial Secretary,
Cape of Good Hope,
Camp.

FIRST HEAD.

PART I.

RECORDS—DUTCH AND ENGLISH—REGARDING THE KAFFERS, FROM A. D. 1650 TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

VAN RIEBEEK's Journal describes a small poor people, who assisted travellers, giving them dried fish and honey—"they have curled Kaffer hair." The Namaquas, Hottentots, Vishmen, the Sonquas, Cochoquas, and Hinsaquas are all frequently mentioned about this time in "The Record," but the term Kaffer, only once that I see when spcaking evidently of the Bosjemans—whether it came into use through the Arabs on the East Coast, as supposed by LICHTENSTEIN, or from the people on the Barbary and Western Coasts, may fairly be questioned. It is of course a common term amongst all Mahomedans for unbelievers. 1660, December 14.

The result of the *Grundel's* voyage coastwards, was the discovery near the Bay of Os Medos de Cura, of Kaffers—"a people of good disposition, and by whom the crew were well received. In appearance they are not very different from the Hottentots, except in their hair, which is much longer." 1670, September 5.

1687, March 25. The Dutch ship *Stavenissa*, was wrecked in 1686, near Natal, and some of the people were drowned—47 proceeded by land in the hope of reaching the Cape—others remained, and were joined by two Englishmen, who some months before had been wrecked in the *Bonaventura* of London—they knew the country and language, and taught the others how to deal with the natives. With the assistance of the natives they built and launched a vessel; put to sea on the 17th February, and anchored in Table Bay on the 1st of March—eleven Dutch and nine English; surprised to hear nothing of the land-party of forty-seven—now twelve months missing.

Their bark, named the *Hooker Centaur*, was purchased by the Dutch government, and sent in search
1688. of them on the 10th of November. On the 10th of February they saw two men seated on logs of wood, two miles from the shore—these men said that full twenty of their shipmates were scattered about in the neighbouring kraals; of these seventeen were collected, two had been drowned in their land journey, and four were believed to have been destroyed by wild beasts—they passed through five sorts of people—some of them simple and kind, others cruel, plundering them of everything—the Magossees, (by Mr. Moodie Amakosa,) treated them with every kindness, supplying them with the necessaries of life.—"These Kaffers are well formed in body, swift runners, and live under the gentle monarchy of their king—they are generally kind, compassionate, and hospitable, but lazy in their nature—they are armed with shield and assagai—no one can serve as a man unless he be circumcised."

1689, October 19. The galiot *Noord* was dispatched to proceed as far as Rio de la Goa, to survey the coast and country, and recover the missing men of the *Stavenissa*. Having surveyed the bay, they proceeded to Natal, where,

on the 5th November, they found one man and a boy; thence to the country of the Magossees, (Mr. Moodie's Amakosa,) where they found two men—one of whom swam on board. They had remained amongst those people two years and eleven months. "It would be impossible to buy any slaves* there, for they would not part with their children or connexions for any consideration in the world—loving one another with a remarkable strength of affection." 1689, October 19.

The land is in common; each grazing his cattle, or cultivating, as he likes, and moving from place to place, provided he remains within the boundaries of the kingdom. In their intercourse with one another they are civil, polite, and talkative; they submit their disputes to the king, who, after hearing the parties, gives sentence, to which all submit; they are much respected and beloved by their subjects; they have in every kraal a house of entertainment for travellers. The three men saw only one European, an old Portuguese; he had been shipwrecked forty years before, returning from India, and was circumcised. The teak wreck is still to be seen."

Ensign Schryver was dispatched with well-armed soldiers, wagons, &c. on the 4th January. He proceeded through the Langekloof to the Kromme River, (see Journal) and returned on the 5th April, with 1,000 oxen and 300 sheep, bartered with the Hottentots, and without losing a man. 1689, April 15.

A surveyor, says Mr. Moodie, (see page 442, note 1) appointed to take astronomical observations during the journey of Benther, in 1752, places the mouth of the Zwartkop's River, in latitude 34 57, longitude 14 17. The following entry furnishes another test of the accuracy of the log-book of the *Noord*, which, Jauuary 25.

* The *Noord* had evidently an eye to Slave dealing.

1689, January 25. together with that of the *Centaur*, seems to fix the position of the Kaffers at that period.

1688, Sunday, October 24. This morning saw an celipse of the sun about 5h. 38m. 48s.; the middle, as seen by us, was at 6h. 22m. 48s.; latitude at noon by account 35° 58', by observation 36° 0'; longitude 32° 52'. These longitudes were, probably, calculated from the meridian of Teneriff. Humbold's observations fixed the difference between the meridian of Greenwich and Teneriff at 16° 12' 45'.

February 9. *Journal continued.*—Fine pleasant weather—wished to embark all the men of the *Stavenissa*, and towards evening we had on board 19 men, and a fat ox bartered from the Kaffers, three oxen for an arm-ring, value one dollar.

1689, October 25. Instructions to the commander of the *Noord*, to proceed to Natal, to recover the remainder of the crew of the *Stavenissa*, and to purchase from the Ingosi, for the company, in exchange of beads, ironmongery, &c., to the value of 20,000 guilders—the bay of Natal and adjoining lands—securing a deed of conveyance.

Then to run down to Bay de la Goa in 33 to 34 S., carefully to sound the Bay, and prepare a chart of it, securing the missing men, and purchasing the Bay, as ordered in the case of Natal.

1690, May 14. Reports to the Chamber the loss of the *Noord*, in Algoa Bay, on the 16th January, on a rocky reef extending $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the shore; the crew, 18, got dry-footed along the roeks to the shore at low water. On the 27th of March 4 of them reached Cape Town in a miserable condition, having been stripped and ill-treated by the Canovers Hottentots. It is very surprising that nothing can be heard of the remainder, although so near.

1676, March 4 The Burger Senate submit in their own name, and

in that of their fellow burgers and inhabitants, that several burgers and inhabitants who had gone into the Interior were massacred by the Gonnema Hottentots; that to prevent this the governor do send out land expeditions to seek for those Hottentots, to massacre them in revenge, and carry off as many of their cattle as possible. The burgers offer to serve, provided they receive a certain share of the booty." 1676, March 4.

So commenced the commando system of the Dutch, which captured the cattle of the Hottentots, took their lands, and almost extirpated that people. Towards the Bosjemans the commando system had almost an equally injurious, although in appearance a less justifiable effect, since it took possession of the land on which their wild cattle, Elands, Quagga, Hartebeest, Wildebeest or Gnu, &c. pastured—so it drove themselves out of the country, and oxen, horses, and sheep were substituted. The poor Bosjemans, in their feeble endeavours with bows and arrows against fire-arms, to resist or stay this process, were themselves sacrificed. The Dutch seem to have found three distinct stages in civilization amongst the Hottentots—the simple pastoral, the nomadic pastoral —and, which is lower still, the Bosjemans, who were living on the wild game and natural products of their plains. From an agricultural people when they left Holland the Dutch have themselves been in some danger of falling to the last and lowest step. Commentary, No. 1.

Amongst the Kaffers they found a fine sturdy race of men, partly agricultural, partly pastoral, living under a rude feudal form of government; and having amongst them the remains of, apparently, some institutions foreign to Africa. On the Kaffers their commando system has accordingly had less injurious effects, although of the injury done to the Kaffers too, who can doubt!

Commentary No. 1.

Mr. Moodie's compilation terminates, in the copy which I have got, with the entry of May 24, 1690, page 446, and recommences 1769,—so that 79 most important years are wanting. He says in a note, page 446, that "certain years' Records were missing, when the colony capitulated in 1795, and that they were advertised for in vain in 1839. It is not therefore intended to proceed any further with the publication until further endeavours are made to find them."

1770, April 26.

Proclamation.

Henceforth no one shall be at liberty to settle beyond the Gamtoos River, and such as may have attempted the same shall be forthwith removed.

Any inhabitant who shall barter cattle with Hottentots or Kaffers, contrary to Proclamation of 8th Dec. 1739, shall be arbitrarily punished upon the body—aye, even to death.

1773, December 20.

Government to Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

Capt. Albert van der Poel represents, that, in June, two of his slaves, natives of the Indian Archipelago, had deserted, and that they are now among the Kaffers; also, that William Prinslo agreed, for a reward, to recover them.—Agreed, provided Prinslo do not barter cattle with the Kaffers.

1770, February 7.

The landdrost reports that in fulfilment of the duty assigned, he, with the heemraden, arrived on the 16th December, at a certain great valley lying along the Zwarteberg, between the sources of the Oliphants and Gamtoos Rivers. That the Zwarteberg, as far as the said valley, stretching E. N. E., as far as the eye

could see, should form a permanent boundary between the two districts. They rode to this place from the Hex River, keeping generally in an E. S. E. direction, in 78 hours. Then they travelled to the Camdeboo mountains in 28 hours; then they travelled 10 hours to the furthest place inhabited there, that of Opperman; then by a S. E. direction, in 33 hours,—they reached the first sprout of the Fish River. 1770, February 7.

The landdrosts are further of opinion that more farms might be given out along the Bosjemans' Mountains to the Eastward, as far as a certain height, named by them "De Bruyns Hoogte," which lies between the most easterly branch of the Zondags, and the first branch of the Great Fish Rivers.

Note.—This is the first notice I see of the farmers passing the boundary, and dragging the government after them, and a pretty extensive inroad it is.

The Chamber XVII. to Government. 1773, October 20.

Avail themselves of the occasion of testifying, in justice to the memory of Governor Tulbagh, that he directed the concerns of the government with all possible skill, attention, zeal, and fidelity, and always to their highest satisfaction.

To supply the office of Governor, His Serene Highness has been pleased to select, out of the nominations presented by us, Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg, senior merchant, and second in command.

First Great Commando. December 28.

The landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch represent to the governor (in loco Plettenberg) that the

1773, December 28. people complain of being constantly plundered by the Bosjemans, and that by reason of their great distance from one another, they could not render mutual assistance; they therefore requested more men, and the assistance of Hottentots who could trace the Bosjemans and clamber up their hills.—Represent, also, the difficulty from want of information as to the nature of the country, and as to the proper season for employing commandos; also, about the selection of a field-commandant. Information on these points is sought from the field-corporals, with a list of the Hottentots to be employed, expert in the use of fire-arms.

1774, March 28. It was found that there might be employed on the commandos from the several field-cornetcies about 100 Europeans, or Christians, and about 150 Bastards or other Hottentots.

The whole to be under the guidance of one commandant, to re-establish and maintain the inhabitants in those abodes which they had been forced to abandon.

There was danger, too, in stripping the districts of the burgers, lest the slaves should rise and rob and murder.

Three commandos, under field-commandant Opperman, forming a general expedition, to take the field simultaneously; from points specified, under written instructions; and thus attack the robbers from all sides in their dens in the mountains.

The three field-corporals are named, and 90 fire-locks, 3 ammunition chests, 900 lbs. of powder, 1,800 lbs. of lead, 300 flints, 24 shackles, 48 hand-cuffs, and 3 tents are indented for.

The field-corporals and burgers, *those most interested in the expedition*, will supply the wagons and horses, —with three aums of brandy, and 300 lbs. of tobacco,

to be issued to the Bastards and Hottentots—also the bagatelles and trinkets to be given to the robbers, if the desired peace should be concluded. An assortment of beads and copper-headed staves, with copper rings, is required from the company as presents for the Chiefs of the Bosjemans when a permanent peace is concluded, showing that they are taken under protection. 1774, March 28.

As the field-corporals receive no remuneration, they are often reluctant to serve, and require their discharge. Resolved, therefore, to confer on them the rank of serjeant, and not to absolve them from the duties of burger exercise. They shall report twice a-year to the field-commandant the number of their men, with all alterations, changes of residence, &c. —also what young men attain the necessary age to be borne on the rolls as yeomen—of all which the field-commandant to deliver a quarterly written report to the landdrost, and to have the rank of cornet over his thirteen field-corporals and large body of burgers.

Instructions to the Field-commandant. April 19.

You will leave at home under provisional field-cornets one-third of the burgers, for protection and safety; and with the other two-thirds, the Bastards and Hottentots, take the field in August or September in three divisions.

1st Division to assemble behind the Sneeuwberg, for operations in those districts.

2nd Division in Sax River, to attack those districts.

3rd Division in Lower Bokkeveld, to attack Bosjemanland.

1771,
April 19.

Caution to the Commandant.

When the robbers are driven out of their dens and lurking places, and beyond the most remote dwelling of the inhabitants, not ineautiously to pursue, or expose his men to danger, but to employ every means to enter into an amicable negotiation, and endeavour to bring the robbers to peace; promising them, if they live in peace with the inhabitants, and leave them unmolested—some farms to reside upon—giving the robbers as many farms or tracts of country as, without too great injury to the Dutch inhabitants, they may require for themselves or for pasturage for their cattle —taking the necessary means for preventing the inhabitants from again placing themselves beyond the Bosjemans, or molesting them in any way—thus *again* giving them reason to revenge and murder. You may also, peace restored, place over the Bosjemans the so called kraal captains or chiefs.

Failing to bring the Bosjemans to peaceable terms, it is left to the field-commandant and other commanders, entirely to subdue and destroy them—to attack and slay them, in such cautious manner, however, as to expose the Dutch as little as possible to danger—spilling no blood without absolute necessity—sparing as much as possible the women and defenceless males.

It is evident that many women and children will be taken, who will become troublesome—the women may be released, but the adult and young males will be kept in safe custody until the expedition is closed and quiet restored—then they will be let go, or divided in proportion to their wants, among the border inhabitants, to serve for a fixed and equitable term of years, receiving proper maintenance, for which purpose some of them may be brought to Stellenbosch; care must be taken that they are not maltreated in

an unlawful manner, (as has happened before,) and that the cattle plundered by the Bosjemans and retaken, are restored to their owners in proportion to their wants. 1771, April 19.

It is quite evident that they (the Bosjemans women and children) would have been at once declared slaves, and, indeed, placed thus under task-masters who were themselves living far beyond the control of the laws; it is a distinction without a difference. The following admirable Dutch law alone prevented, in all probability, the local government from declaring them to be slaves:—"The aborigines shall be undisturbed in their liberty, and never enslaved; they shall be governed, politically and civilly, as ourselves, and enjoy the same measure of justice. Good rules shall be made for teaching them, and especially their children, the truths of religion and the usages of civilized life; and care shall be taken to withdraw them from heathen customs, and from indolence, the mother of want, to the cultivation of the soil, and to such social habits as their condition and capacity may bear."—Dutch Law, A.D. 1636.—But Hell is paved with good intentions. Commentary No. 2.

The Chamber acknowledge the receipt of a letter, dated the 20th of last December, by which "they were much gratified to find that a good harvest was anticipated, and in particular that the Cape government had purchased 254 slaves at Madagascar;" "reduction of expenditure hoped for through the introduction of slaves—190 men having been received from the Eastern Islands." 1677, May 11.

About this time the government sold slaves to the farmers to assist them in their agricultural labours; for there were great complaints of the laziness of the Dutch; corn being much wanted; agriculture much neglected; cattle and sheep farming being preferred.

1774, April 19.

The expedition to close when these results are attained, at the discretion of the commander. He will restore to the inhabitants the "loan farms" held from the company, which they have been forced to abandon. The field-corporals, commanding the several parties, will report results to the field-commandant or landdrost in writing. The field-cornet will report personally and in writing, proceedings and results in detail to the landdrost.

Notices, alterations, and regulations, in the duties of field-corporals, the field-commandants cautioned to provide the several districts with the needful and qualified field-corporals in the room of those retiring. The retiring field-corporal, in requesting his discharge, will propose and send to the field-commandant a person to take his place.*

It is left to the field-commander, with the advice of the field-corporals, to make such alterations and regulations respecting the expedition and otherwise, as the posture of affairs and the difficulties may require. On these points, and of all remarkable results in their districts, the field-corporals shall furnish quarterly written reports, whilst the field-commandant will personally deliver at Stellenbosch a general half-yearly statement of the whole.

Trusting that all will be managed discreetly by the field-commandant, according to his duty, as an upright and honourable man, that the best interests of the colony and of the inhabitants will be duly consulted, he is recommended to the protection of the Almighty by his good friends, M. A. Bergh, &c.

Stellenbosch, April 19, 1774.

* Like the Scotch Municipal Corporations, Provosts and Bailies of former times—self elected.

Three Extracts from the Resolutions of the Governor in Council, under this date, show that the proceedings of the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch are approved and confirmed. 1774, May 17.

The arms, and other things indented for on account of the expedition, are granted, of which a hope is expressed by government that there will be a favorable issue.

Alas! for the poor Bosjeman inhabitants!!! Left, through the weakness and imbecility of the Dutch government, to the tender mercies of such an expedition—all the members of which, field-commandants, commanders of divisions, and private soldiers, have an obvious and common interest in their annihilation as a people—(setting at nought, from the first, their rights to the soil) seeking revenge for the past; security, and extension of territory, for the future. Commentary No. 3.

Although in this instance the commando was against the Bosjemans, I have given an account of its organization and operations here, because the same system had been formerly, and was afterwards pursued towards the Kaffers, though with less injurious effects to them, because they have a form of government, are a more united, and a more sturdy people than the wild Bosjemans, who were a step in the scale of civilization below even the nomadic pastoral; living upon the wild game and natural products of their country.

The diaries of the three field-corporals employed in the expedition, report briefly their proceedings:—

1st Division.—From 16th to 27th August advanced with the ammunition wagons to the Droog Sand Kloof; 18th, to the place of Hendrik Kerk, in the

1774, May 17. dry land (Karoo); 19th and 20th, halted to cast bullets; 22nd, halted; 23rd, under Roggeveld Berg; 27th, Riet Fountain.

September 1st, at the Ducka; 3rd, sent out spies; 4th, discovered a Bosjeman Kraal in which were 19 men, who voluntarily surrendered; 11th, a skirmish began with the Bosjemans, 16 shot in the kraal, and 6 taken prisoners; 12th, found a kraal in which 9 were killed; 16th, Von Rusberg found a kraal in which 8 were killed, 1 taken.

Prisoners divided—total, 60 prisoners, 46 children, two of them sucklings, given for periods from 10 to 20 years—liberated 12 women and six sucklings, 5 girls, some were taken for wives by Hottentots, &c.

2nd Division.—September 1st, reports that from a certain burger 250 sheep were on the 1st carried off by the robbers; 2nd, from another, 16 milch cows, whose calves left behind, had died from want of milk; 3rd, from another farmer 21 working oxen, but re-captured by a Hottentot shepherd; 4th, from another 18 working oxen; 5th, from another 7 head of cattle; 6th, from another a great portion of his cattle stolen, as before reported, two horses wounded with arrows, one of which died on the spot, the other recovered—the person who tended the horses having been killed. The robbers are daily traced and seen in the recesses of the Sneeuwberg; so that every one wishes the time were come for another commando.

The commando is accordingly, under authority from the field-commandant, formed, and consists of 46 Christians, 31 Hottentots, and proceeds to work.

1775, September 4. August 1st. Commando arrived at field-corporal's house.

2nd. Went with commando to his house; the herd of cattle had been stolen, but were retaken the same night, with great risk by the farm servants.

3rd. Went N. E., but nothing worth noticing as far as Tafelberg. 1775, September 4.

4th. On the higher Sea Cow River came on one of the cattle-stealers, and saw many others on their way; tried to deceive the man caught, by saying we came as friends, and to shoot sea cows, hoping thereby to secure the others; gave him accordingly a pipe and tobacco, and sent him after them; but saw no more of the thief.

5th. N. West, along the Sea Cow River to Eland's Drift, saw fires extending from place to place; the concerted signal of the robbers of the approach of a commando; no Bushmen came, as formerly, to sea cow hunts.

6th and 7th. Shot sea cows for the robbers, to entice them to come; no other means of paying them off for their constant murdering and cattle-stealing.

8th and 9th. Shot 12 sea cows, and parties of Bosjemans came; wanted them to go and call their captain. They said it would be labour in vain, for he would not come. Heard fire-arms to the rear, and found that a party of thieves had turned our flanks, and that the men left at home had assembled and overtaken the thieves with their booty; the Bosjemans with our party knew this, and escaped to their dens during the night.

10th. Sent out spies to see whether the Bosjemans had not assembled round the carcases of the sea cows, their liking for carrion being well known, and found that they had; divided the commando; and went there at day-light on the

11th. Overthrew the robbers there, and on searching, found 122 dead; five escaped by swimming the Sea Cow Pool; took of the defenceless 70 prisoners. On the Dutch side one man wounded with an arrow, and 4 shot through the clothes.

1775, September 4. 12th, 13th, and 14th—spent in stratagems to secure Bosjemans.

17th. Surrounded a kraal, and when day favored with more light, fired upon it; 15 fell on the spot, no one escaping; 8 little ones were taken; found in the kraal cattle-hides, fresh mutton, and suet. One man hit with an arrow through the clothes.

18th. A party sent out, which was wofully misled by the spies, and missed their prey; the spies were told that if they pointed out the fugitives they would be spared, otherwise shot; they promised fair, but had hardly gone an hour when they fell on the ground; blows failed to raise them, and they were killed on the spot. The colonial spies found traces of the fugitives to a cavern in the Roode Bergen, and the commando proceeded there.

19th. In the morning fired into their caverns; not one escaped, 44 were killed, and 7 little ones taken, who told us that a captain was among the dead, but not the chief captain who governs over the Sea Cow River; a man wounded in the neck, but not mortally; more hides and sheep's skins found than usually on a field of battle; discovered that during our absence the robbers had carried off a whole flock of sheep.

22nd. A Bosjeman was seen going on before the commando from hill to hill, lighting fires to give warning.

23rd. Spies gave notice that a great number of Bosjemans were seen in flight over the Roode Bergen, running north; so there being no hope of falling in with the fugitives, and food and lead running short, broke up the commando.

24th. Divided the young prisoners among the men, it being impossible to send them to the landdrost, according to orders—they were so young and sickly, and there being no wagons to carry them.

A great many thieves were seen; the landdrost is therefore requested to excuse the men for not attending drill—the 12 left at home, as well as those who went on commando,—for from the stir among the Bosjemans, and to prevent the Hottentot irruption, not one can be spared. 1775, September 4.

Ns. A. van Jersvelt.

Sneeuwberg, Sept. 4, 1775.

P.S. Powder and lead wanted—(not forgetting the pig tail!)

Third Division.—Field-corporal Joubert reports: 1776, February 15.

December 8th. The Bosjemans stole 8 cattle; pursued; killed 25, took 26 children.

10th. 9 Cattle stolen.

12th. Followed; shot 15—took 10.

Field-commandant Opperman reports: March 1.

That the Bosjemans increase; assemble in numbers to lay waste the farms, and fire the houses by night. Every field-corporal has enough to do in his own district; so that it is impossible to collect a large commando.

A couple of hundred men are therefore requested; also 1,000 lbs. of powder, and 2000 lbs. of lead—else all will be obliged to flee, as some have already done. Orders are, therefore, requested, to give no quarter to the robbers on the Zak River, in the Nieuwveld, to behind the Sneeuwberg. The robbers have a gun and two horns of powder, and have fortified themselves in the mountains. Therefore, hand-granades, and those who know how to use them, are required, &c.

The field-commandant acknowledges the receipt of a letter from the landdrost of Stellenbosch, directing that, in consequence of much blood having been shed, May 17.

1776, May 17. the field-corporals are not to undertake commandos against the robbers without his authority. He says, much blood has been shed—but he does not know that any commando has gone out until the robbers had first given cause for it. It is impossible to stop commandos until orders are given, because the robbers are busy every day robbing and murdering; and if orders are waited for, the robbers will have it all their own way, and the cattle will be carried off with impunity; for, unless there be daily resistance the advance parties will first have to leave their farms, and afterwards the people of Sneeuwberg and Camdeboo, for the robbers are collected in thousands; slaves also join the robbers, and are the principal murderers.

A great commando is required.

Nov. 17. Twenty-five inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, in stating their sufferings through Bosjeman aggressions, say:—"Oh! must not the Heavens tremble, and the Earth shudder at the troubles with which we are oppressed!"

1777, January 5. Found the robbers, and shot or captured 62, but the greater part escaped.

April 1. Commandant Opperman reports on the insubordination of the inhabitants, for, far beyond the places which are ordered not to be inhabited, as the Fish and Bosjeman Rivers, there are, contrary to prohibition, some people. People live beyond both rivers almost mixed with the Kaffers.

April 10. Pursued the robbers; killed 53—took 11 children.

June 5. *Resolution of the Council.*

After granting 1,500lbs. of powder, 2,000lbs. of lead, and 3,000 flints, goes on to say, that, although the savage disposition of the Bosjemans has been

known in all ages, and, although when hard pressed they defend themselves in the most desperate manner, it is deemed necessary to order that no cruelty be exercised towards the wounded and prisoners, the women or children. The Hottentot attendants, being ill-used by the Bosjemans, may be inclined to take revenge. 1777, June 5.

In forwarding the ammunition, the landdrost authorizes the resumption of the commandos, repeating the orders of government about women, children, and wounded. June 16.

A stong commando was accordingly formed to attack the Bosjemans in their hiding places with the utmost energy, and, if possible, to extirpate them. 1,000lbs. of powder and 3,000lbs. of lead required. April 13.

Attacked a kraal, 6 killed, 1 taken;—28th, 8 killed, 2 taken;—29th, 7 killed. August 25.

Five killed, 1 taken; divided 6 prisoners among the men. September 2.

Journal, Colonial Office. 1774, Nov. 30.

Report received from NICOLAS VAN DER MERWE, who commanded the expedition in Middle and Klein Roggeveld, behind the Winterberg. He had in several rencontres with the Bosjeman Hottentots killed 142, and taken 80 of them, with the loss of one man wounded by a poisoned arrow. He had also made a treaty of peace with JORIS, who had been taken prisoner, and who was appointed captain, on his promising that no more thefts or acts of violence should be committed.

Acknowledges the receipt of OPPERMAN'S report of operations; having been compelled to resort to force, 265 of the robbers were in several attacks shot dead; 129 men, women, and children, were taken prisoners. 1775, January 13.

1775, January 13. Some of his men, and he himself, were wounded with poisoned arrows, but no lives were lost. He had appointed two Hottentots of peaceful dispositions captains of the kraals; giving each a copper-headed staff, some beads, copper rings, and some pounds of tobacco.

G. VAN WYK, with his commando, had killed 96, and taken 21 of both sexes, great and small. In the obstinate attacks and resistance of the Hottentots none of his men were wounded, and only one shot through the hat.

It appears from all the reports that in the three commandos 503 Bosjemans had been killed, and 241 taken prisoners. One Dutchman was killed, and one shot through the hat. The captured Hottentots* have been placed with various poor persons for a certain term of years to serve them for their needful maintenance.

The summing up by government, under dates 30th November, 1774, and 15th January, 1775, refers to other operations of the great commando than the three given as examples of such operations, which are of August, 1774, August and September, 1775, February, March, and May, 1776, January, April, and June, 1777. There were many separate operations by each of the divisions; and as the government summing up is merely as to numbers killed and taken, this discrepancy appears immaterial; and I do not find in "The Record" any summing up of the operations of the commando by government of a subsequent date to the 13th January, 1775.

1777, December 4. A person sent to the Kaffers to recover run-away slaves, of whom there were eighteen among the

* The term Hottentot or Bosjeman appears to be used indiscriminately both by the officers and the government, in speaking of the persons against whom these operations were conducted.

Kaffers, only got one, who had been a year among them; a Kaffer returned with this person as his servant. JOUBERT, the person who went into Kafferland to recover maroons, is sent by the landdrost of Swellendam to the governor, as the information which he can give may be of use to his excellency. 1777, December 4.

There is a great deal on record about the barter carried on between colonists and Kaffers, and the ineffectual measures taken to prevent the traffic. But it is unnecessary to give particulars. The only thing I see of interest on the subject is in the 9th clause of the instructions, issued on the 5th of December, 1780, to the commandant of the eastern country, viz., "As there is reason to suppose that in the face of the severe enactments against cattle barter the practice is carried on, and that much injury and violence is done to the Kaffers; the inhabitants being as little deterred by the fear of punishment as the Kaffers by the injury done to them, from which arises enmity between the colonists and the Kaffers, the injurious consequences of which are felt by those entirely innocent. You will, therefore, take care that none of the inhabitants go beyond the Great Fish River, still less enter into any border trade with the Kaffers."

Resolution of the Council. 1780, July 25.

It having been reported by the landdrost that, on receiving intelligence that the Kaffers had committed aggressions, field-cornet FERREIRA, without orders, had marched a strong commando, attacked the Kaffers, shot a considerable number of them, taken and divided in the commando a considerable number of their cattle.—Resolved that the landdrost make particular inquiry into this matter, and if it appears that

1780, July 25. any thing was done without an urgent necessity, and in a manner deserving of punishment, then to prosecute the eulpable parties before the eourt of justiee.

November 14. *Resolution of the Council.*

It has been intimated by the governor that, in the course of his journey into the interior in 1778, it was agreed with the Kaffers that the Fish River should serve as a boundary between the colonists and the Kaffers, that the latter should not be at liberty to come with their cattle to the right bank of the river, nor the colonists to go to the left bank of the river. The Kaffers, contrary to promise, had crossed the river, and occupied the farms belonging to the inhabitants, through which differences had arisen. The field-commandant was ordered, if the Kaffers would not fulfil the promise made to the governor, to compel them to do so.

1779, April 8. The Kaffers have not removed, but still lie where the governor left them, and talk of sowing corn.

August 16. The field-cornet of Bosjemans' River to endeavour, by gentle means, to dislodge the Kaffers.

August 25. Disturbances between the inhabitants on the right of Bosjemans' River and the Kaffers.

October 25. Complaints of Kaffer aggressions, and the flight of the inhabitants of Bosjemans' River on that account.

September 27. Flight of seventeen families; and no saying what further mischief the tribe design.

November 5. Field-cornet Lebolts met at Zwartkop's River nineteen burgers, who had fled with their cattle, the Kaffers having burnt their houses. The Kaffers said that the Gonna Hottentots, residing among the Christians, stole their cattle, and desired that they should be expelled.

The Kaffers murdered a cattle-herd on the Bosjemans River, carrying off half the cattle—some brought back by a commando, but 22 still missing. Three more Hottentots murdered or carried off by the Kaffers;—three more Hottentots murdered by the Kaffers, who covered the bodies with mats, having burnt the huts. 1779, December 15.

Field-cornet Scheepers, who was in Kafferland in 1763, found no Kaffers in the district given in form by the governor in 1778;—they were then first found with their cattle five days further inland, and have since moved in this direction. December 18.

In June last the Kaffers carried from Scheepers' farm 60 head of cattle, with the herd—they belonged to the tribes of Magona and Mapoti—they said, 'You Christians harbour the Gonna Hottentots to steal our cattle; why do you not drive the Gonnas back to us?'

Further complaints to the same effect. December 19.

The landdrost of Stellenbosch to the governor—sends two letters from the field-cornet beyond the Camdeboo and Bruintjes Hoogte, showing that actual hostilities had broken out with the Kaffers, that cattle had been stolen, and some of the colonists wounded—8 or 9 Kaffers killed—a strong commando was about to take the field—on its proceeding will depend whether the Kaffers or the colonists are to be expelled. 1780, March 13.

From the first letters the governor will perceive that the hostilities are chiefly caused by the violence and annoyance on the part of the colonists towards the Kaffers.

The complaints and accusations are supposed to be more or less founded on fact, for however revengeful the disposition of the Kaffers, it is not such as to provoke them to such daring attacks without just cause.

The family of Prinsloo are mischief-makers, and will endeavour to have the Kaffers removed, to get

1780, March 13. more land—so that the promise made by the Kaffer, Capt. KOBA, to remove beyond the Fish River is urged, but no orders to that effect have been received.

It is imagined that the negotiation of his excellency was not so much to extend the colony for the benefit of the inhabitants, as by their separation from the Kaffers to prevent illicit traffic.

November. It is said, the Bosjemans are now beginning to unite with the Kaffers. Landdrost WOEKE reports to government, that on the 4th October one of the field-cornet's Hottentots shot a Kaffer, who was attempting to steal a sheep, which gave great offence to the Kaffer Chief LANGA, who demanded the surrender of the Hottentot, or satisfaction. The transaction resembles that which, when PRINSLOO shot a Kaffer, under the pretext that he stole a sheep, the Kaffers rose, attacked the inhabitants—the result of which was, a fearful slaughter of the Kaffers, and the ruin of many of the inhabitants. What else is now to be expected from the Kaffers !

It should be the duty of the Eastern Commandant to endeavour to pacify the Kaffers by the most gentle means, and induce them to abide by the established boundary of the Great Fish River.

It was therefore thought fit for the present, to comply with two requisitions from FERREIRA and MEYER, for ammunition to enable them to oppose the plundering Kaffers.

August 9. Resolved on the renewed request of the inhabitants near the Kaffers for gunpowder and lead to resist those tribes—to send them a barrel of gunpowder, recommending that they should only act in case of absolute necessity, and then on the defensive.

September 12. Arms are wanted on account of the hostile violence of the Kaffers, as well as of the Bosjemans, to prevent invasion, so that every soul may not be sacrificed.

Field-eornet JAARSVELDT reports—the Kaffers are again lying on this side of the Great Fish River. It will speedily follow that all Bruyns Hoogte, Swaart Ruggens, and Camdeboo, will be overpowered by them, for there is not ammunition. God knows how it may go, for with these Kaffers hostility has already taken place. 1780, September 17.

Two letters relating to the hostilities between the people of Bruyns Hoogte and the Kaffers beyond the Fish River. Distant chiefs of the same nation, named GAGALIE, requests the aid of the inhabitants to attack the hostile captains, his rebellious subjects, offering friendship and peace on a permanent footing. October 10.

The landdrost of Stellenbosch is ignorant of his excellency's intentions, and unable to entertain the question, awaits instructions.

Requisition for 1000 lbs. of powder and 2000 lbs. of lead, and requests to be allowed to frame instructions for the guidance of the commandants, partly extracted from the orders of 1774, to G. R. OPPERMAN.

Government accede to the requisition for powder and lead, and instruct the landdrost to furnish instructions to the commandants, proceeding to carry out the views of the Board in connection with the measures to be pursued in the disputes between the inhabitants beyond De Bruyns Hoogte and the Kaffers beyond the Fish River. October 24.

The landdrost having instituted the inquiry ordered on the 25th of July, into the conduct of FERREIRA and JOUBERT, who without orders attacked the Kaffers, killing a number of them, taking and dividing their cattle, holds their explanation to be satisfactory, and begs that it may be favourably viewed by his excellency in council. October 25.

1780, November 14. *Resolution of Council.*

It was agreed with the Kaffers in 1778, during the journey of the governor to the frontiers, that the Fish River should be the boundary. But the Kaffers, in breach of their engagement, have placed themselves on the farms of the inhabitants on the right of the river, through which differences have arisen. Resolved therefore to fix the river more particularly as a boundary, and to order the field-commandant, if the Kaffers did not voluntarily fulfil their promises, and return to the other side of the Fish River, forcibly to compel them to do so.

December 5. *Instructions to the Commandant of the Eastern Country by the Landdrost of Stellenbosch approved of by Government.*

Art. 1. Describes the object of government in the appointment of the field-commandant.

Art. 2. Your first care should be to remove all cause of offence to the plundering Bosjemans and the bordering Kaffers; and to prevent the recurrence of such, to try every available means to establish a permanent peace with the Kaffers. To induce the wandering Bosjemans, if not to adopt peaceable habits, to return to the mode of life which experience has shown to be less troublesome and injurious to the inhabitants.

Alas! even the pasturage grounds on which the poor Bosjeman's wild game fed were gone.

Art. 3. The Bosjemans are a savage people, entirely different from the Kaffers. The latter are comparatively capable of being treated with, civilized, submissive to chiefs, ruled by customs which supply the place of law. The policy towards the tribes bounding

on the north, and those on the east, must, in accordance with their circumstances, be entirely distinct. 1780, December 5.

What share PLETTENBERG had in making this distinction it is of course impossible to discover. It is worthy of JANSSEN, who ruled over the colony many years after. It is the first symptom I see in "The Record" of the wish to accommodate the measures of government to the condition in which it found the aborigines. If it originated with the landdrost of Stellenbosch, it appears to me to do him great honor. Commentary No. 4.

Art. 4. With the Kaffers, a very timid and peaceable people, come to specific and permanent treaty of peace, you on the part of the governor, their captains or chief men for their whole people—or the captains for those subject to them—binding yourselves that, as agreed with the governor two years ago, the Fish River shall be the boundary; so that they may never advance any claims to the lands or pastures on this side, or the inhabitants use the lands or pastures on the further side.

It is a pity that the specific terms of PLETTENBERG's engagement with the Kaffers are not to be found on record. It would be a curious document,—shewing with whom it was negotiated, whether they had the right to enter into such engagement—for it may well be questioned whether the individual members of a feudal confederacy have the right to enter on engagements which shall be binding on the whole body, as we found to our cost in the engagement entered into with GAIKA in 1819 for the cession of the ceded or neutral territory. It is a still more doubtful question whether the chief of such confederation can have the right to dispose of land by sale or grant, although in other respects he may have the right to enter into engagements—and whether civilized governments in making such purchases are not really the receivers of Commentary No. 5.

1780, December 5.

stolen goods. The Red Indian chiefs, I believe, frequently sold lands either to states or colonists. So did the chiefs of the Cape, of Natal, and Algoa Bay to the Dutch; and so, latterly, have the chiefs of New Zealand. Such possessions can hardly be private or saleable property, and a thousand private rights in the soil may thus be disposed of contrary to the wishes and interests of the people.

Art. 5. A general restitution to take place of all cattle taken by either party, hostile or otherwise—all on the part of the inhabitants to be done in good faith and uprightly—all who served in the strong commando against the Kaffers to restore the share taken—if deficient, compensation to be made to the satisfaction of the Kaffers.

Commentary No. 6.

Here again, I fear, is another instance of "Hell is paved with good intentions," for however well those at a distance may have designed, there can be no doubt that the distant executive authorities of the Dutch government were far too much mixed up with the people in interest and sympathy, to admit of the hope of their carrying out designs favorable to the aborigines, at the expense of their brethren.

Art. 6. When violence or injury is committed by any of the Kaffers, the injured party giving due notice, may proceed to the chief to gain redress, so that the offender may be punished in their own way.

Art. 7. When a Kaffer is the injured party we are to make due inquiry, report to the landdrost, the injured party, with passports, accompanied by witnesses, coming, if he chooses, to the landdrost, that their complaints may be heard.

Commentary No. 7.

Whether the similarity and reciprocity, so observable between some of these Articles and those of the treaty of 1836, arise from the circumstance of the negotiators dealing with the same people and the

same questions; or whether the authorities of 1836, had the landdrost's Instructions of 1780 to the field-eommandant, before their eyes, I cannot tell; but they are too obvious, I think, not to strike any one. 1780, December 5.

Art. 8. You will take no part in their disputes or feuds, but leave the hostile chiefs to fight out and settle their disputes, all help being civilly refused to either side.

This clause shows that the engagement of PLETTENBERG with the chiefs, was not internationally of a defensive character. It will be seen (Oct. 10, 1780,) that a distant Kaffer chief, in a national affair, had already requested aid in subduing his rebellious captains. Commentary No. 8.

Art. 9. Relates to the prohibition against cattle-barters, as causing enmity between the Kaffers and inhabitants.

Art. 10. Should the Kaffers not abide by the engagement with the government regarding boundary, a respectable commando to be assembled to force them beyond the Great Fish River, to remain there; then no reciprocal restoration of captured cattle can take place.

Art. 11. The commando thus employed, not to take any more cattle, unless any be seen belonging to the inhabitants.

Symptoms in all this of far more merciful views towards the Kaffers than are exhibited in any former part of the proceedings of the Dutch towards the aborigines—whether arising out of their repentance of former sins of commission, or from political expediency, on finding themselves in collision with a sturdy race of men, may fairly be questioned. But, here again, "Hell is paved with good intentions,"—for the executive had not the power, at any time, of controlling its subjects. Commentary No. 9.

1780, December 5.

Art. 12. In this case all negotiations to cease; and Kafirs, either in parties, or singly, must not be permitted to cross the river, neither the inhabitants.

Art. 13. No permanent peace can be expected with the roaming and predatory Bosjemans, who are to be attacked and overpowered in their caves and hiding places; if they will not surrender they may be put to death, and be entirely destroyed; sparing their women, children, and infirm men.

Art. 14. Those taken prisoners, whether fighting men or not, and children, to be divided among the members of the commando, to serve for subsistence for a term of years, according to age. If the members do not want them, then divide them among the poorest inhabitants, or send them to the landdrost.

Commentary No. 10.

It is curious and interesting to observe, that nothing is anywhere said of taking and dividing in this manner the women and children of Kaffers; probably, because they never exposed their women and children to the risk of being taken.

But it will be seen (1689, October 19) that the captain of the galiot *Noord*, which was evidently employed on the eastern coast by government on a slaving expedition, reports that it would be impossible to buy any slaves among the Magossees, (Mr. Moodie's Amakosa,) since they would not part with their children, or connexions, for any consideration in the world; loving one another with a remarkable strength of affection.

If the Dutch had made apprentices, or in other words, slaves of Kaffer women and children, the probability is, that this fine race of men would never have rested until they had secured an equal number of Dutch women and children; although, as I think will appear in the sequel, (or in Barrow,) the Kaffers did spare women and children who fell into their

hands, after the Dutch had killed their women and children. 1780, December 5.

Art. 15. The remaining 27 Articles of Instruction do not relate to the policy pursued in the first 14 Articles, but prescribe the nature of the duties necessary to give effect to that policy.

The landdrost of Swellendam reports depredations by the Kaffers on the frontier farmers, and further threatening appearances; and recommends the appointment at Swartkop's River, of a person of some character and rank, to make peace with them, or to resist them. 1781, July 4.

Field-commandant D. W. KANNE, is accordingly appointed by government, and the landdrost is desired to submit, for the approval of council, a draft of proper instructions for him, in the execution of his duty. It is left for him to adopt such measures, against the threatened attack of the Kaffers, as he shall deem suitable to the circumstances of the times.

Commandant JARSVELD's report of the expulsion of the Kaffers. July 20.

The Kaffers subsequently to the treaty moved amongst the inhabitants with all their property; and it was necessary to offer resistance to their impending violence.

A strong commando was assembled, and the work of expulsion commenced on the 23d of May. The Captain COBA was warned to depart with his people, and to tell the other captains to return to their country. He went away reluctantly.

The commando advanced beyond Bruyntjes Hoogte. The molestation the Kaffers had committed by night on the farms, the occupation of the farms, and the carrying away the servants, rendered it necessary to stop them by gentle means or by force. Commentary No. 11.

Were the particulars of PLETTENBERG's engage-

1781, July 20.

ment with the Kaffers, and the history of the contracting parties among them known, it is not improbable that it would be discovered that the Captain Coba was no party to that engagement, and that he did not consider the engagement on the part of others binding on him.

Jalomba, Susa, and Bozana, were on the 1st of June warned in presence of the commando to move, and to make restitution of stolen cattle. They made no answer, but pressed among the commando, weapons in hand. They were again ordered to depart, and the commando returned to camp. On the 2d, the same was repeated, and they refused to go. The interpreter warned the commandant that there was danger, for that he had heard the Kaffers encourage each other to push boldly among the Dutch, who could not fire lest they should shoot each other. The commandant observed that 10 or 12 armed men always surrounded him, as if to listen to what he was saying. They were again warned to move in two days or to expect battle; and on the commando retiring it was thought that the Kaffer shounded them with their dogs. They are forbidden to push in among the commando; the men were ordered to keep in the saddle, and to retire from them; the Kaffers following, and pushing among the men; the commando halted and formed line. It was seen, that if the Kaffers were allowed to attack, there must be great loss. So Jarsveld collected all the tobacco, advanced twelve paces, threw it to the Kaffers, and called to them to pick it up. They ran out from amongst the commando, and forgot their plan. The order was given to fire; the three captains and all their men were slain, and 800 of their cattle taken.

Jarsveld knowing no other means of preventing the daily threatened violence of the Kaffers, and of putting an end to the complaints of the inhabitants, than

by proceeding to beat the unreasonable portion of the Kaffers into a proper peace, returned to his camp from the 7th to the 10th. Went out again behind the Boschberg, where he found the captains COBA, MAGOTI, and THATHOE, took 1,300 head of cattle, and informed them that when they had fulfilled the promise made to his excellency, and given up the colonists' cattle, theirs should be restored, and the peace renewed. On the commando retiring the Kaffers came out of the woods in great numbers, and announced that in the dark they would retake their cattle. A party was placed in ambush, which repulsed the Kaffers in the night, killed six, besides the wounded; Captain SANGA, was desired to retire from the right of Bosjemans River, and to return to his own country, with which he complied. JARSVELD goes on to describe his operations against the Kaffers on the Bavian's River, the Kowie, the Great Fish River, and other places; capturing their cattle, until the 19th, when he dismissed the commando, consisting of 92 Christians and 40 Hottentots, having had only three of the latter wounded. He left twelve men to guard the outer posts. The Kaffer cattle, and those retaken, belonging to the colony, were divided among the inhabitants, according to the number they had lost; but they were so short, that each got only 4 oxen in 10 of those lost, or about 43 per cent. 1781, July 20.

So ends "The Record" at a very critical period of the Dutch and Kaffer war; or if it has been continued beyond this date, Mr. MOODIE did not give me, or send, when written to for it, any more; except the Journal of Colonel COLLINS, of 1809, and other papers of that period, which will be noticed according to date, if I should continue this compilation. Commentary No. 12.

"The Record" is the only authentic history of the colony with which I am acquainted, and the absence

1781, July 29. of such documents, from 1781 to 1795, is of course fatal to the hope which any person may entertain of himself becoming, or of rendering others acquainted with the measures adopted by the Dutch government towards the Kaffers in the last fourteen years of their rule over the colony, until its restoration at the peace of Amiens.

I feel this to be the more vexatious, for after wading through the atrocious measures pursued towards the aborigines for so many years, a new era seemed to dawn, and the proceedings of the government, those of the landdrost, and those of the commandant of the eastern frontiers, towards the Kaffers, from the 25th of July, 1780, to the 20th July, 1781, are, with few exceptions, (Jarsveld's tobacco stratagem for instance,) such as may be read with pleasure, and approved of, in even the present enlightened period of our own rule. Excepting, of course, Plettenberg's view, that his engagement of 1778, with certain members of the Kaffer confederation—was binding on the whole of the chiefs and people—and excepting also the system of employing commandos composed of the inhabitants; a vicious course, arising, probably, more from necessity than choice.

1775, December 26. Bannister, Page 183. De Klerk, field-corporal, reports to the landdrost of Stellenbosch, that he had made peace with the Bosjemans of his district. He had been endeavouring to do so for a year, but in vain for 7 months of that period. He made one of them a captain, and sent him to arrange the business; at first a few came, afterwards 200. He hears that field-corporal Van Wyk had charged him with carelessness, which is incorrect. The charge arises out of his not allowing Van Wyk to have his own way; doing so would render it impossible to have peace. The case affects his, De Klerk's, conscience—so he will go on in a manner to

enable him to answer to God as well as to the government. If health serves, he hopes to come to Stellenbosch in May. He is getting old, and requests to be discharged from burger duty and from office; if permitted, he will appoint an able deputy for commandos, for a year or longer, and see how affairs go with the Hottentot-Bosjemans—all promises fair for peace; but if another succeeds the result is likely to be otherwise. 1775, December 26. BANNISTER, Page 183.

A boer confessed to VALLIANT, that the hatred of the Kaffers was inveterate—but observed, that it was unlucky for the innocent that the effects of their vengeance did not always fall on those who deserved it. 1782, BANNISTER, Page 185.

It is a misapprehension only beginning to be removed that the natives do not duly estimate the great principles of international law, and even the regular procedure of courts. The foundation of many diplomatic usages are distinctly traceable in South Africa; and the substance, with often not a little of the tediousness of judicial proceedings may be met with there. HUMBOLD'S curious engraving of an original American court might find many originals amongst the Kaffer tribes. The Kaffers are indeed known to be great lawyers, having individual chiefs famed for their knowledge of deciding cases. The foundation of the interrogatory system is, doubtless, to be found in usages like those of the Kaffers; and it deserves notice, that at our requisition they lately condemned four murderers with the clearest justice, who would, probably, have escaped by English prosecution. They were Kaffers who had killed two British soldiers without provocation. They have, too, what is equivalent to prosecutions for perjury, in cases of false testimony. Do., p. 45.

The population of Kafferland, in spite of many adverse events, has constantly increased; the people have long occupied a coast of about 200 miles between Do., p. 169.

1782, BANNISTER, Page 169. the Bashee and the colony. Their numbers were, many years ago, estimated at more than 40,000.*

Do., p. 182. Goes on to show the oppressive orders issued on these occasions by the Dutch government against the native people, which some of its functionaries were sufficiently ready to obey, but which others disputed to their own injury; and that twice the British government commanded what even the Dutch functionaries hesitated to perform, 1816—20.

Do., p. 191. Exemplary conduct of the Hottentots, as soldiers—enrolled in 1782, with little expectation of success, they have proved that good usage, good food, and good clothing, will produce in the Hottentot fidelity and cleanliness, and other military qualities, equal to other men.

Do., p. 197. BARROW's account, throughout, as to the Kaffers, is, as of a people who shared the wish of one of their chiefs, GAIKA, to be able to exchange their "instruments of war for implements of husbandry," and to be able to "return to their ancient habits of peaceful industry."

In regard to the Kaffers, a volume might be filled with the general approbation they have received. However travellers may differ in other points, they all agree in enumerating so many good qualities in this people, that if common intelligence and common honesty cannot be denied to those travellers, their testimony is complete.

Do., p. 185. The captain of the wrecked American ship *Hercules*, being asked whether all the colonists were such as he described, he said, he hoped not. I have known many

* In 1826, Mr. THOMPSON estimated them at 100,000, their country being more densely peopled than any district in the colony. A careful enumeration by tribes, estimates them at 195,600, and 326,000 cattle. Yearly increase of cattle half, or 163,000; consumption, half the increase, or 81,500.

who hold the marauding conduct of their neighbours in the utmost abhorrence, and for nothing more than their repulsive frontier conduct. 1782, BANNISTER, Page 185.

Of the kindly disposition of the Kaffers, the testimony of an intelligent American sailor, Captain STOUTS, of the *Hercules*, may stand for a volume, which might be adduced to the same effect. Do., p. 203.

"Cast with sixty of my people on the shore of Kaffcrland, I found in the natives a hospitality, and received from them protection, which in Europe I might have sought in vain. Do., p. 103.

"We were unarmed, not having saved from the wreck a single article, either for our own defence or subsistence. In this situation we were completely at the mercy of the natives, but instead of revenging the wrongs they and their predecessors had endured from the savage whites, they made us fires and gave us subsistence."

BARROW is the next authority to "The Record," in my possession.

Being deputed by Lord MACARTNEY to the frontier, he found among the list of grievances of the provisional landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, (Vol. 1st, page 61,) the incursions of the Kaffers represented to be destructive to some of the dependencies. Some of the chiefs, with their families, vassals, and cattle, were overrunning the country, and had advanced as far as the Swellendam borders, others were within sixty miles of Graaff-Reinet, but the bulk of them were on the Sour Grass Plains, along the sea coast, between the Sunday and Great Fish Rivers. 1797, July 13.

A person who, during the late intestine disturbances in Graaff-Reinet, had acted a busy part, asked for a commando to operate against the Kaffers, who had caused such uneasiness.

1797, July 13. BARROW, Fol. ed., 1806, Vol. 1, p. 61.

In the then state of affairs the provisional landdrost dared not refuse. He had been forced by the rebellious to take on him the office, and to assist in all their measures. But knowing of the approach of the landdrost, with BARROW, he withheld his reply in the matter of the commando.

The new landdrost stopped the hostile preparations of the farmers, and announced his intention of visiting the Kaffer chiefs, with the view of prevailing on them to retire beyond the Great Fish River—the colonial boundary—which was unpalatable news to those who hoped to share in the plunder of Kaffer cattle.

To the conduct of the colonists was owing the serious rupture of 1793, terminating in their expulsion from some of the finest districts.

Although, in the same year, the treaty was renewed, fixing the Fish River as the boundary, few of the colonists had confidence to return to their farms, particularly in the Sour Velds, and this induced the Kaffers again to transgress the fixed boundary during the confusion at Graaff-Reinet. Whilst the Kaffers remained in small numbers in those remote parts, little notice was taken of them; but from their numbers, and approach to the interior of the district, their incursions were now seriously alarming.

Commentary, No. 13.

The absence of the Dutch records from 1781 to 1795, renders it impossible to ascertain in what manner, or with whom, PLETTENBERG'S treaty of 1778, with certain Kaffer chiefs, was renewed in 1793. But the probability is, that the renewed treaty, like the original, was not written, and that the mistake was again committed of considering an engagement with individual chiefs, binding on the whole Kaffer tribes.

BARROW,

The landdrost resolved, after administering the oath

of allegianee to the people of Graaff-Reinet, to visit the Kaffer chiefs, and, if necessary, their king. 1797, July 13. Barrow,

The landdrost-eouneil eonsidered that there was danger in this. They would not be persuaded that Kaffers were unlike Bosjemans—that they were a mild, rational, and something of a civilized people. A jaunt from home, or a hunting exeursion, is supreme felieity to a Duteh peasant; and a safe opportunity of getting into Kafferland, abounding with eattle, is not to be resisted. Do., p. 115.

Twenty years ago the Gamtoos River was the boundary.

The tents were pitehed on the banks of the Kuruka, amidst several hundreds of the Kaffers—good humour, animation, and a eheerful turn of mind beamed in all their eountenanees; they had neither the thiek lips nor the flat nose of the Afriean negro—the faee and head well formed as those of the European; the men are the finest figures I ever beheld—tall, robust, museular—an open manly demeanour.

Deseribes the diseussion with the two ehiefs and brothers Gooley and Waloo. They said they knew very well the treaty entered into long ago, and renewed at the end of the late hostilities, fixing the Great Fish River as the boundary. The eolonists, they said, had first passed the boundary after the treaty in pursuit of some game; then they had done so; but that there were no inhabitants in the eountry where they now fixed themselves. The eolonists, observes Barrow, have always used the Kaffer eountry as their own—sowing, planting, and driving over their eattle to graze. Some of them have gone amongst the Ghonaquas—the offspring of Kaffers and Hottentots—subjeets of the former raee, taking possession of portions of their eountry, watered by the Kat and Koonap Rivers.

1797, July 13. Barrow, Page 115. Describes the petition which they, joined by 20 or 30 other colonists, presented to Sir James Craig, praying, on account of their losses through Bosjemans and Kaffers, to grant them land on the Koonap; and saying that they would be still further obliged if he would extend the grant to the Kat; the land solicited being about 45 miles beyond the boundary. "The eyes of the colonists have long been directed to the two rivers, Koonap and Kat. The petition was rejected. The chiefs were told that the colonists had no authority for crossing the boundary; that it (the boundary) would be observed. But that the Kaffers who had spread themselves over the country must, without delay, return."

Do., p. 126. The intelligence that the mission was on its way to their king Gaika, alarmed the chiefs; they being at war with him and having fled. They entreated for interference, and were assured that an attempt at adjustment would be made.

Do., p. 136. Interpreter sent to Gaika to say, that the treaty of 1778, renewed in 1793, would be respected by the English. Gaika soon came from his residence, 15 miles beyond the Keiskama, and entered on business immediately. He said that none of the chiefs who had entered the colony could be considered his subjects; although his ancestors had always held the first rank, and their supremacy was acknowledged by the colonists; those chiefs were entirely independent of him.

On his father's death he came under the guardianship of his uncle Zambie. But the uncle continuing his regency after he attained his majority, his father's friends took part against the uncle, and caused him to flee. Konta, a powerful chief from the north, joined the uncle. He had, however, defeated both, taking the uncle prisoner; but he had never been at war with

the chiefs on the other side of the Keiskama. The subjects of GOOLEY and WALOO had, GAIKA said, committed great depredations in his country; he had not, however, molested their habitations. 1797, July 13. BARROW, Page 136.

From what they had heard of the Kaffers from the Dutch boers, they were surprised to find so much prudence and good sense in so young a man as GAIKA.

Describes the particulars of the negotiation with GAIKA. "It is false that the Kaffers are a savage, treacherous, and cruel people. Their moderation to the colonists and white people has been often shown. In war they spare women and children, although their own have been murdered by the colonists; shows how, in February, 1716, the colonists plundered the crew of a Genoese ship, wrecked on the coast; whilst in 1797, the Kaffers fed, and afforded safe conveyance to the colony to the people of the American ship *Hercules*, stranded on their coast." Do., p. 148.

During the conference with GAIKA, his uncle, the usurper, remained in the back ground. His treatment of the uncle did GAIKA honor. He was then under 20; the uncle's property was all restored to him, but he was obliged to live in the same village with the king.

Although the Kaffers have always been represented as agriculturists, neither gardens nor cultivated land appeared near their habitations. GAIKA said, that in the last two or three years of war, they could not remain in any one place for more than a month at a time. But that he should be delighted to see the warlike keric converted into an implement of husbandry. Every Kaffer is a soldier and husbandman; but he only arms when the state, of which he is a member, requires his services; on account of some injustice done towards the whole, or a member of the community.

The Kaffer is mild and gentle, of erect deportment,

1797, July 13. Barrow, Page 148.

bold and open expression. No nation, taken collectively, can, perhaps, produce so fine a race of men as the Kaffers. The Kaffer is a tall, stout, muscular, well-made, elegant figure. His countenance is always cheerful, and his whole demeanour bespeaks content and peace of mind. He has not one line of the African Negro in the shape and turn of his person. There is, perhaps, no unlettered person whose manners and opinions have more the appearance of civilization than those of the Kaffer. They are no contemptible artisans —of which instances and examples are given.

Speculations regarding the origin of the Kaffers; Mr. Barrow thinks they are most certainly not aborigines of Southern Africa; speculations on their being descendants of the Bedouin Arabs; circumcision and their Arab face denote their origin. They have a much stronger resemblance to the Ethiopians and Abyssinians than to the African. No vestige of a written language among them; but their language appears to be much beyond that of a savage nation. In the enunciation it is soft, fluent, and harmonious. The mountains and rivers still retaining their Hottentot names, is presumptive proof that the Kaffers were intruders on that nation. The Kaffers call themselves Kousi.

The Ghonaquas, a race arising out of the intercourse between Kaffers and Hottentots, just on the eve of extinction. They were driven out of their ancient possessions, in the Zuurveld, by the colonists; (Note, by which our colonists now benefit, if benefit it can be called, in possessing this tract, lying between Graham's Town and the mouths of the Kowie and Great Fish Rivers;) they found an asylum from the father of Gaika. In their endeavour at neutrality, during the disturbances among the Kaffers, arising out of Zambie's refusal to yield the reins to his ne-

phew, the Ghonaquas became a common enemy; and those who remained in the country were plundered and massacred by both parties. 1797, July 13. Barrow, Page 148.

The emigrant Kaffer chiefs refused to return beyond the Great Fish River, although Gaika was well disposed towards them. But it was deemed unadvisable to drive them over by an armed force from the Cape.

The frequent disturbances amongst the boers of Graaff-Reinet, and the boers instigating the Kaffers to hostility against the British, rendered it necessary to employ troops, as well to drive the Kaffers out of the colony, as to break up the combination subsisting between Kaffers and boers.

"In the fertile division of Bruyntjes Hoogte," says Barrow, "the inhabitants were notoriously turbulent. They were chiefly soldiers, or sailors, who had deserted, or were discharged, from the Dutch army or ships. Living at a great distance, and in a country which readily supplied their wants without much labour, they attempted to dictate to government (Dutch), which was timid enough to suffer their excesses to pass unpunished." Commentary No. 14.

Idleness, the mother of all mischief; or, in other words, the pastoral, as contrasted with the agricultural condition; and it is curious enough to see, how, through the whole period of their rule over the colony, but more especially during the early period, the local government failed to turn the attention of the people from pastoral to agricultural pursuits. (See "The Record" A. D. 1671; 20th March, 1681; February 1st, and September 30th, 1689.) Amongst other things, it appears, under the above dates, that the Dutch boers were of idle and disorderly habits; that it was impossible to get them to work, or attend to agricultural pursuits, and that "agriculture had shamefully declined." Still "agriculture, horticulture, "The Record" 1681, March 20.

1779, July 13. Commentary continued.

and grazing, had so advanced that the burgers and their families, amounting to six hundred, could subsist on their own harvests of wheat, rye, and barley."

"Not so, however, the slaves, amounting to an equal number,"—(these men had been imported by the government, and sold to the people; they were brought, apparently, from the Mosambique Channel, from the Eastern Islands, Java, Malacca, and, probably, from Cochin and the Malabar Coast—all rice-eaters,) "who must be fed on rice."

"The Record" 1689, September 30.

"It was very satisfactory to the Chamber in Amsterdam to read of the perfect reliance placed by the Cape government on the Hottentots. You have purchased from these people, and taken possession of a fine rich valley, four miles east of Stellenbosch, which is called Drakenstein, and divided it among 23 free men—sixty morgen to each. The Chamber is anxious to learn how the government had arranged with the French refugees, and those of the Valees de Piedmont of the reformed religion, who left the Texel in the *Alkmar*, on the 27th of July."

1690, June 12.

"About one hundred and fifty of the refugees, men, women, and children, landed at the Cape—37 having died, and 104 sickened during the voyage. They were partly settled in the Cape district, partly at Stellenbosch, but chiefly at Drakenstein, where they earned their subsistence by agriculture, or as they best could. It was the object to mix them with the Dutch, so that each might acquire from the other useful agricultural knowledge."

Commentary continued.

The endeavour of both the home and the local government to fix the colonists to the more civilized pursuits of agriculture and horticulture, signally failed however—sixty morgen of land proved in Africa far too little for men who, in Europe, never, probably,

owned an acre;* so, eventually, they obtained loan-farms of 6000 or more acres—becoming a pastoral, whilst the nature of the climate, and the scarcity of water and pasturage, forced them to become a nomadic people—the last and lowest condition of society—out of which they had risen long before they left Europe. In this condition they were necessarily as little useful or profitable to the government as the aborigines, (the Hottentots and Bosjemans.) The immense extent of country, and the hostility of the aborigines, who lost their pasturage lands for domestic and wild animals, rendered it impossible for government to protect the people, and hence arose those eternal commandos, and the consequent demoralization of both colonists and aborigines. The colony has never accordingly paid, perhaps, the expense of its civil government. 1779, July 13. Commentary continued.

In such a condition of things it was not of course very difficult to obtain its permanent cession at the congress of Vienna; but the ambassador who should then have negotiated the cession of Java, would probably, in Holland, have been considered deserving of the block.

"The abominable expeditions," says Barrow, "which are carried on under the authority of government, ought not, on any consideration, to be tolerated. They answer no other purpose than that of irritating and rendering more savage the unhappy creatures who are the objects of them." Commentary, No. 15.

Barrow might have added that—unlike charity—or rather, being the very antipodes of that virtue—commandos cursed both parties. They brutalized the colonists as well as injured the aborigines, and verily

* Somebody has said, it is not that the boers have too little land, but that they have too many cattle.

1779, July 13. Commentary continued.

both governments and colonists have had their reward. Government has gained a worthless country, almost too extensive to be defended except at a ruinous expenditure. The people from agricultural, have become pastoral and nomadic. They have been further rendered savage, and reduced to the original, or lowest, condition of man, by being left, or forced, with arms in their hands, (worse than BURKE's wild justice, or Ireland's nocturnal legislation,) to avenge their own grievances, of which grievances they, too, were the only judges.

And to all these circumstances may, doubtless, in some degree, be traced the gradual, and, eventually, the mighty emigration of the Dutch boers to countries where they might, as they thought, live beyond the pale of British law. The Act V. and VI. of WILLIAM IV., Chap. LVII., must, however, have taught them that, as British subjects, British law can reach them beyond the colonial border.

As British subjects they cannot, of course, combine to make conquests for themselves, although individually they may emigrate to, and live under the laws of any country they choose.

Since they cannot throw off their allegiance to their own country, they may, of course, be hanged as traitors if found in arms against it.

And if any substantive state complains that, as British subjects, they are disturbing the peace of that state, which cannot control them—then international law will reach them, and through it England becomes responsible for the conduct of her subjects. Captain WALPOLE may then be sent from Fort Beaufort with a military force against them, if they will not, through peaceable means, return; as his brother was, a few years since, sent from England, with a naval force, to bring back British subjects, who were about

to violate, at Terceira, the laws and territory of Portugal. 1779, July 13. Commentary continued.

Let the Dutch boers go—for, although the colony has, doubtless, lost much in disposable labour, in capital, and defensive power, through their departure, better all this—far, than that they should be indulged, at the expense of England's honor, (if indeed the honor of our beloved country could be involved through the proecedings of Dutch boers,) in granting them extension of lands at the cost of our neighbours;* or in commandos, which were, undoubtedly, like their pursuit of wild game, favorite occupations with them, as long as the occupation could be followed profitably, and without much personal inconvenience and risk; or as long as the profit was greater than the inconvenience and the risk taken together.

The first notice I see in "The Record" of Barrow's "abominable expeditions" of the colonists is:— "The Record" 1676, March 4.

The Burger Senate submit in their own name, and in that of their fellow burgers, to government, that several burgers and inhabitants, who had gone into the interior, were massacred by the Gounama Hottentots; that to prevent this, the governor do send out land expeditions to seek for these Hottentots, to massacre them in revenge, and carry off as many of their cattle as possible. That the petitioners offer to serve, provided they have a share in the booty.

Certain burgers of Stellenbosch memorialized the government, claiming 20 cows and oxen captured in April last from the Obiquas Hottentots, as booty and well-earned pay. Resolved, unanimously, to 1686, November 2.

* Sir Benjamin D'Urban said:—The relinquishment of the newly-acquired Province (Adelaide), will be speedily followed by an extensive abandonment of the Albany and Somerset districts on the part of the farmers.—(Letter to Lord Glenelg, June 2, 1836.)

1686, November 2. grant them 2-3ds of the cattle as well-earned booty; the other 1-3rd going to the company as its lawful* prerogative.

The first Great Commando.

1773, November 4. Commentary continued. The organization, operations, and termination of this commando, in which the three divisions, in their first expedition, killed 503 Bosjemans, and took 241 prisoners, many of them sucklings,† are already given in pages 57—71, under this head; and it is unnecessary further to notice these horrors.

1775, January 13. Many intermediate commandos followed.

The particulars of the last commando of 1780—1, noticed in "The Record," against the Kaffers, have also been detailed. The instructions issued to the field-commandant, and his proceedings, are, I think, almost, or altogether unobjectionable. Excepting always the vicious system of employing the colonists to avenge their own cause; and excepting, also, field-commandant JARSVELD'S tobacco stratagem; for to justify this, there was no further proof of intended treachery on the part of the Kaffers than the warning he had received from the interpreter, and the circumstance of the Kaffers mixing with his men. (The Record, 1781, July 20.)

Commentary, No. 17. What afterwards happened is unknown; for here "The Record" closes—

BARROW, Page 362. "From the moment that Lord MACARTNEY'S departure for England was known, the district boers, incited by others at Cape Town, thought that with him departed all authority; their restless and turbulent minds, and their avaricious views on the Kaffers,

* Symptoms of the Dutchman turning Hottentot, Bosjeman, or Kaffer! !—for this is about their chief's share of booty.

† One Dutchman being killed, and one shot through the hat.

would no longer brook restraint; so "they resolved to prove themselves true patriots," as one of them wrote. They issued from Graaff-Reinet (1799) circular letters, entreating, and commanding others, to assemble in arms. Barrow, Page 362.

General Dundas sent a squadron of dragoons, a few companies of infantry, and most of the Hottentot corps, into the district, under Brigade-General Vandeleur. The rebellious boers collected in considerable numbers, stationed themselves between the Drostdy and Algoa Bay. Hearing that troops were advancing, they dispersed, petitioning for forgiveness; a verbal message was returned, "that no communication would be held with rebels, until they surrendered themselves and laid down their arms; that all who did not appear by a certain time, at a named place, would be treated as rebels and traitors;" the greater part appeared accordingly. Some of the ringleaders were sent on board a ship in Algoa Bay, and on the rest a fine was levied.

Having thus got rid of the ringleaders, the general meant to embark part of his force, and to send the remainder overland to the Cape. In crossing from Algoa Bay to the northward, to put the plan into execution, to his surprise he fell in with a party of Hottentots dressed in such wild attire that he did not know what to make of them. The men were armed with muskets, the women carrying the loads, for they had been plundering the boers.

Klaas Stuurman, or Nicolas the helmsman, was the spokesman of the Hottentots; they had come to the resolution of applying, before the English left the country, for redress of the many grievances which they had sustained at the hands of the boers.

It appeared that these Hottentots were only a small portion of the tribe which was arming against the

Barrow, Page 362, &c.

boers, and plundering their houses. Some of the Hottentots had fled to the Kaffers, but most were on the road to Algoa Bay, to appeal to the general. The Hottentot connection with the boers seemed dissolved —the latter had endeavoured to levy from the former the contribution put upon them by General Vandeleur; and the state of the country was very alarming.

A vast number of Kaffers, with their cattle, were met on the banks and among the thickets of the Sunday River; they belonged to the chief Congo, the head of Gaika's emigrant chiefs. Mr. Barrow had, two years before, assisted by the landdrost, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. Congo now said in reply to a requisition to quit the colony, and retire beyond the Great Fish River, that the ground he stood on was his own, for that his father had been cheated out of it by the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet. He promised, however, to move eastward in three days, although not beyond the Great Fish River, for Gaika was there, too strong for him—and there was blood between them.

Congo's open and manly deportment, far from suspicion, fear, or embarrassment, characteristic of the Kaffer chief, excited a strong interest in his favor. Children in swarms issued from the thickets, and he reluctantly consented to withdraw his people and cattle from the banks of the Sunday River.

The forces stationed along the Fish River having been collected, the troops commenced their march towards Algoa Bay. Congo still remained on the Sunday River; the message to quit was repeated, but the messenger returned without seeing the chief—the troops and wagons, in the mean time, proceeding en route.

It was not thought, however reluctant Congo might be to quit his position, that he would commence an

attack on a body of regular troops. Instigated by the Dutch boers, who, rather than attend the general's summons, sought refuge with him, he took this step. Kaffers appeared in great numbers on all the heights, and several were seen close upon the line of march, lurking in the thickets. The defile was narrow, the brush-wood close, and three rounds of grape were fired to clear the thickets. It required some management to prevent a junction between the Kaffers, urged on by the rebel boers, and the dissatisfied Hottentots, now flying from their late masters. Barrow, Page 362, &c.

Near Algoa Bay the boers and their families had assembled to claim protection against the Hottentots, who, great and small, amounted to 500—the boers to 150.

In the mean time the Kaffers, instigated by the rebel boers, had attacked General Vandeleur's camp, near the Bosjemans' River; the boers kept up a brisk fire behind the bushes; the Kaffers with their long missil weapons retired to re-appear, rushing into the plain with the iron part of the assagai in their hands. Several rounds of grape and musketry, by which numbers were killed, sent them into the thickets again. They soon perceived the advantage of a short weapon used by a muscular arm over a long missil spear, whose slow motion through the air renders it of easy avoidance.

Lieut. Chumney, and 20 men of the 81st regiment, were returning from the sea coast to camp; they were surprised in the thicket by a large body of Kaffers, and attacked hand to hand with the iron part of the assagai; sixteen of the party were killed. Lieut. Chumney, on horseback, led off the main body of the Kaffers, in pursuit of himself, was killed, but thus afforded the small remnant of his party an opportunity of reaching camp.

Commentary No. 17.

Whether the Kaffer be descended from the Bedouin Arab, as supposed by BARROW, (page 148, &c.) or not, his conduct in thus using the iron of the assagai, (throwing away the wooden part, though not its scabbard) in close combat with the European—and as the same thing was done under their spiritual leader MAKANNA,* in their attack on Graham's Town, when Major-General Sir THOMAS WILLSHIRE commanded; these are circumstances, at all events, worthy of the descendants of that gallant race. It reminds one of the attack made, with such fatal effect, by the Beni Boo Ali tribe of Arabs, sword in hand, upon Major THOMPSON's force,—and their charge against Sir LIONEL SMITH's ranks in the same order, some years after,—when they issued from their date groves with sword, jumbea, (or dagger) and shield, in the teeth of a shower of iron grape-shot and musketry—closing, eventually, to a hand and hand combat with the British soldier, and rendering it, for a time, doubtful, whether the sword and shield of the Arab were not a match for the fire, the bayonet, and the musket—as the Highlanders had before done. On both these examples, I believe that Major MITCHELL partly grounded his opinion that the sword and shield really are so. The Kaffer is a more powerful man than the Arab, and hardly less so than the Highlander. When they can get swords and better shields, there is no reason why, as our true and tried allies, they may not, in after years, use both with equal effect in our service or assistance.

General VANDELEUR's message to the rebel boers was worthy of himself, and is of course the only

* Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM's account of MAKANNA's surrender of himself, to propitiate the British government—his banishment to Robben Island, and death there, are as interesting incidents as I ever heard of in the life and death of any man.

alternative against being shot, that can be offered to rebels with arms in their hands. I have never understood what we are doing at Natal. The general impression seems to be that we have been treating with the rebel boers. My not understanding this may arise from want of information, for I was only a short time at Cape Town, and then not in a state of health to discuss such matters with any one. Since my arrival on the Frontier I have not met with any one who could give me the information which I sought on the subject. Commentary No. 17.

Before I left India, however, we knew well enough that our subjects had rendered themselves amenable to national law by combining to establish an independent administration; and to be dealt with through international law, by taking possession of a portion of the territory of a substantive power, when that power should appeal to us for assistance to aid it in controlling our subjects; and there was no longer any difficulty in dealing with them, either at the cannon's mouth, or the foot of the gallows, after their attack on Major SMITH's small force. Neither have I been able to understand by what right we are taking possession of the Natal territory; we cannot, of course, hold that the illegal proceedings of our own subjects there give any legitimate rights to us; or that the pretended purchase of that territory in 1689, by the commander of the Dutch galliot *Noord*, on account of his government, from the Ingose, or chief of the bay, for beads, copper, and ironmongery, to the value of 20,000 or 30,000 gilders, can give us any right to occupy the territory now. "The Record" 1689, October 25.

With the particulars of Lt. FAREWELL's purchase, or pretended purchase, of a portion of that territory, a few years since, from the Zoola Chief CHAKA, or from his brother and successor DINGAAN, I am still

Commentary No. 17. less aequainted; but on sueh purehase, on whatsoever eonditions it may have been made, the British government ean hardly ground a claim of right.

Barrow, Page 362, &c. The boers persuaded the Hottentots that the English would put them on board ship and send them to the Cape; they accordingly withdrew from near Algoa Bay and joined the Kaffers. The ill-judged conduct of the boers eventually brought on their own destruetion. It defeated the intention of effecting a reeonciliation; brought together in union Kaffers and Hottentots, who drove out the boers, spoiled them of their eattle, and burnt their habitations. Having effected these things in the Graaff-Reinet district, they advaneed into Swellendam; their hatred was against the boers, for single English Dragoons were suffered to pass unmolested; and an Englishman's (Mr. Callender's) house at Plettenberg's Bay, was spared, whilst all the rest were burnt. The same house was afterwards, either in revenge, or in a spirit of mischief, plundered by a party of boers, collected by the magistrate to clear the distriet of Kaffers and Do., p. 417. Hottentots. The wives and families of this party having fallen into the hands of the Kaffers and Hottentots, were, as on all similar occasions, treated with respeet. Ransom was offered, and the Hottentot who went to make the proposition was shot, yet the prisoners were liberated.

Do., p. 420. *Articles of Instruction, proposed by a District Landdrost, to be given to a Commandant.*

Art. 1. No unneeessary eruelty to be exereised on prisoners.

Art. 2. Women and ehildren, espeeially those of Kaffers, are not to be ill-treated, or taken away, but

returned to their respective families, after the late example shown by the Kaffers at Plettenberg's Bay. Barrow, Page 420.

Art. 3. On the conquest of a kraal, the huts are not to be set on fire as usual; as to this practice alone, there is every reason for supposing the burning and plundering of our farm-houses is to be ascribed.

Art. 4. The dead bodies of the enemy not to be violated, as has usually been the practice of the evil-disposed of the commandos, by cutting them with knives, lashing them with wagon whips, and hacking them with stones; such conduct exasperating the enemy, and inducing them to commit murder.

Art. 5. Boers should not, in the first instance, take away the Kaffer cattle, because they will hover round the commando to retake them; besides, it weakens the commando to guard them. Their object should, therefore, be to pursue the enemy, and to expel them from the country, by which the whole of the cattle will, of course, fall into the hands of the boers.

It is interesting and instructive to find the Christian taking example, even to this extent, from the Kaffer, in mercy and forbearance; if, indeed, that divine attribute can be said, or supposed, at all to have a place in such proceedings; especially where self-interest, and self-considerations, so obviously come to aid the Christian. Commentary No. 18.

Whilst the boers of Graaff-Reinet were yet in arms, the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts appeared to waver; but on hearing of their subjection, they pretended to condemn their conduct. These people attempted to effect their avaricious designs on Kaffer cattle, (long horns always!) by attacking the magistrates and the small force left at Graaff-Reinet for their protection. But these disturbances were local, and they had plunder only for their object; all other districts remained quiet; and long before the gene- Barrow, page 420, &c.

Barrow, Page 420, &c.

ral peace in Europe the people were so much reconciled to the British government, as neither to expect nor wish for a return of their own.

No natural tie exists between the Cape and the United Provinces; the greater part of the colonists are the descendants of soldiers in German regiments—composed of Prussians, Hanoverians, Flemings, and Poles—and of French refugees, who took shelter there after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; they have no connections in the states of the Bavarian Republic.

Note.—The extracts which I have given from Barrow, are entered here from notes which I made, some months ago, for my own amusement, from a copy of the work which I borrowed from the Rev. Mr. Devereux, the Roman Catholic Priest at George, long before I thought of preparing this compilation regarding the Kaffers. There is, of course, much more of interest in Barrow on the subject; and if it be thought worth while a sketch of this kind, relating to the colonists, and the whole of the aboriginal tribes, might be prepared under the instructions of the Cape government, by Mr. Moodie, or any one else. The records of government, secret or otherwise, are of course beyond my reach; and I have no other works than such as I collected for amusement and instruction during a tour of the frontier districts; a compilation of this kind, complete in all its parts, would be important,—for in order to correct what is wrong, it is necessary first to ascertain the commencement, the progress, and the present condition of the Evil.

J. SUTHERLAND.

Graaff-Reinet, September 30th, 1844.

Lichtenstein, Fol. ed., Vol. 1, p. 277.

The wars of the Kaffers are occasioned by the rebellion of the chiefs against their common king, or the desire of the king to bring a separate tribe under

subjection, and make it tributary to him. The declaration of war made, all the vassal chiefs, with their dependents, are summoned to assemble. Every one must implicitly obey this mandate and follow his leader, under danger of confiscation of property. They collect at the habitation of the king. The king presents plumes of feathers, which are worn as marks of honor, and those wearing them are obeyed as commanders, appearing at the head of their divisions. The unarmed prisoners are never put to death, and women and children have nothing to fear. Such are ALBERTI's opinions, and those of the Christians who have lived among them. LICHTENSTEIN, Page 277.

On the death of a chief, the people choose a successor, commonly of his family, which the king has the power of confirming or setting aside; as the people of one kraal have the power of choosing a chief from another kraal, one chief may rule over many kraals. But chiefs and all are vassals of the king. Yet such is the blind attachment to chiefs, that they are often followed by the people even against the king. Chiefs had the power of life and death; but this power king GAIKA has taken from them, and ruled, that sentences of death require his confirmation. Every chief chooses five or six old and experienced councillors from among his subjects, and seldom acts in important matters without their advice. The great council of the king is composed of the chiefs of particular kraals; although the government is monarchic, there is a power in the people to balance that of the king. If the warning of one of the oldest and most esteemed chiefs is not attended to, kraals break up and retire to, or behind the border. When GAIKA made laws first against taking private revenge, and a second, which rendered the king heir to all his subjects who died without heirs, this measure (*i. e.*, the breaking up of kraals) was had Do., p. 286.

Lichtenstein, Page 286. recourse to, and the king set aside the second law. Except when the spirit of resistance is particularly awakened, the king is implicitly obeyed, and his sentence of death is executed without a murmur. Gaika, king of the Kosas, seldom made use of the right. Fines were substituted, and only for the most heinous offences, was death awarded.

Do., p. 290. The case of Palo and Tyuka is cited. They were brothers; the latter king, the former regent under him. The king demanded extraordinary taxes in cattle from his subjects, and they murmured. Eventually the quarrel came to blows, Tyuka was conquered by his brother Palo, and made prisoner, yet the king, from a sense of right, restored his brother.

Do., 293—4. The revolt of the chiefs in the next generation, during the minority of Gaika, is described; also his inability to reduce them, and their aggressions on their neighbours, the colonists; who retaliating, a disturbed state of things arose. The Kaffers were joined by a large body of Hottentots, who had deserted their masters, the colonists; and they were formidable from their arms and intelligence. The united body spread terror over the district of Graaff-Reinet; and presently the whole country between the Bosjemans and the Fish River, was in their hands; cattle were plundered and houses burnt. Commandant Vandervelt having been killed, the colonists lost heart. His successor equally failed to restore tranquillity; and at this very time the boers rebelled against the English; General Vandeleur appeared in the field to quell the insurrection, and the prisoners were for the most part sent to Cape Town. But the Kaffers pressed forward and attacked General Vandeleur on his march to Algoa Bay, where he embarked, leaving the frontier of the colony to its fate. The Kaffer arrogance increased, and they pressed

through the Langekloof and by Plettenberg's Bay, half way to Cape Town, carrying fire and sword in their train. They were driven back in 1800 from the Kurmans, to the Zwartkop's River. But, although the Algoa Bay settlement was established, and every precaution taken to guard against a like misfortune, the rebel chiefs of GAIKA could not be prevailed on to return within their own boundary, the Great Fish River. It was not thought advisable to drive them; and this portion of the colony remained in their hands; reciprocal distrust therefore continued. LICHTENSTEIN, Page 293—4.

GAIKA remained quiet, and restrained his subjects, yet perfect peace could not be preserved. The colonists never lost the hope of regaining their lost property, and reprisals and a petty struggle was carried on.

Extracts from General JANSSEN'S *Journal, as given by* LICHTENSTEIN, *pp.* 302 *to* 333.

The situation of the eastern part of the colony, at the restoration to the Dutch, was disturbed and lamentable: first from the distrust which subsisted between the English government and its subjects, next from the condition in which the rebel chiefs stood towards their sovereign. The Kaffers had discontinued to rob, only because nothing was left, and because the settlement at Algoa Bay was formidable to them. But the inhabitants did not venture to return to, or to rebuild, their habitations.

On the request of the inhabitants, the governor, General JANSSEN, repaired to Algoa Bay, which he reached in 36 days, on the 8th of May, 1803. Messengers were sent to the Kaffer chiefs to propose peace and invite them to meet the governor. Like messengers were sent to two hordes of discontented or rebel Do., 302, &c.

Lichtenstein, Page 302, &c.

Hottentots, who were hovering about the country, under the conduct of persons who were connected with the Dutch administration of former times—*i. e.*, Klaas Stuurman and Boewezak.

The narrative goes on to describe the result of the negotiations with the Hottentot leader Stuurman, who repaired to Algoa Bay to meet the general.

In the mean time two Kaffer envoys arrived—one from Jalusha, the other from Sambeh—rebel chiefs of king Gaika, and a highly interesting discussion is entered on as follows :—It appeared that they had come a week before to Algoa Bay, in the hope of finding the general to assure him of the friendship of their chiefs—but not finding him there they returned without having in the intermediate period seen their chiefs—and this they deemed the more necessary since they heard that ambassadors were proceeding from the general to their chiefs. They doubted whether their chiefs would themselves come, and said that they came because commanded to do so ; but that the case was quite different with respect to the chiefs, since no one could command them.

A commission was appointed, consisting of persons in General Janssen's suite, to draw up Articles of Peace between the Dutch and the Kaffers. The general himself, in communication with the most respectable of the colonists, sketched a plan, and on some hints furnished by them the plan was completed.

The envoys sent to the four rebel Kaffer chiefs were honorably received, and they invited the general to meet them (the chiefs) on the Sunday River, as they feared to go to Algoa Bay. They were still at enmity with their king, Gaika, who sometimes attacked them, and who had sent Rensburg to treat on his behalf with the Dutch, and to secure their assistance

in reducing his rebel subjects. This rendered them distrustful, and they therefore wished to speak with the general alone, in the hope that he would endeavour to reconcile them with their king. LICHTENSTEIN, Page 302, &c.

Presently arrived NACABONEH, an ambassador from CONGO, one of the four chiefs, who called himself the chief minister, and who confirmed all that the returned Dutch envoys had said. He had before been employed on a similar errand, and wore on his breast a copper plate engraved with the name of General DUNDAS.

JANSSEN moved forward to the Sunday River, and he learnt that GAIKA had sent a messenger to beg that he would support him against his feudal chiefs. He wished anxiously to see the general to conclude a peace, and for that purpose would meet the general.

Two of the feudal chiefs also arrived, and only awaited the arrival of the others to confer with the general on business. When they approached the camp some delay occurred in the matter of etiquette—they wishing to see the general, instead of his deputation, consisting of a field-commandant and the adjutant-general ALBERTI. The general advanced, so did they, and the meeting was accomplished. The chiefs said they were terrified because they heard that the general had come to an understanding with GAIKA, and promised to seize them, and compel their return to obedience. When assured on this point they had not patience to wait the progress of a regular negotiation, but wished peace to be concluded immediately; they insisted, in reply to objections, that it was easily made, and began to return; those appointed to draw up the conditions followed, and the points were discussed.

The chiefs said—the past should be forgotten; that they were unacquainted with the true motives of the

Lichtenstein, Page 302, &c. war. They complained of the conduct of Thomas Ferreira, then in authority at Algoa Bay; said they were at open war with king Gaika, and that they were accustomed to make war whenever they had a mind—though they were once followers of Gaika—most of them were disposed to make conditional peace with him, but the general must protect them, and Coenraad Buys, a renegade farmer of Swellendam, must be removed from Gaika. Sambeh alone said he never would be reconciled; he had educated Gaika from his birth, and knew him to be faithless.

Do., 302--333 Eight Articles of Engagement were discussed. 1st. Ten of the colonial Hottentots were said to be with them; most were with Stuurman, Boewezak, and Trompeter; the few with them had permission to return to the colony.

2d. They were ready to return colonial renegades, or captured slaves, provided Kaffer children were given up in return.

3d. They agreed to surrender, unconditionally, all Dutch and other deserters.

4th. They denied having any captured fire-arms; for, not knowing the use of them, they were given to the Hottentots.

5th. They acknowledged the Great Fish River as the boundary, but could not cross it whilst at war with Gaika.

6th. They objected much to the proposition that no colonists should enter Kafferland, since there could be no true peace without intercourse; and they adhered to the opinion that it was better to trade with the colonists than with the government.

7th. They assented to the proposition that no Kaffer should take personal revenge, but seek redress from the nearest magistrate, or the commandant of Algoa Bay.

8th. In the same manner any colonist seeking redress from a Kaffer chief shall obtain it. LICHTENSTEIN, Page 302--333

The compact was concluded with a great deal of trouble, and only two of the chiefs would come to the general's camp to receive their presents.

They did not appear very desirous of peace with King GAIKA, although the general offered his mediation; and were with difficulty persuaded to send a person with him, who should return and tell them the result, towards themselves, of the general's interview with GAIKA.

The general invited GAIKA to an interview on the Great Fish River, proceeding there himself. GAIKA, menaced by his enemies, feared to go so far from home, and entreated the general to advance farther. COENRAAD BUYS came and repeated GAIKA's invitation, expressing doubts whether the compact with the chiefs would be fulfilled. He was exhorted to dispose GAIKA to peace with his chiefs, since the colony suffered exceedingly from their dissensions. He was accompanied by four of GAIKA's most distinguished officers, amongst them ENNO, his brother-in-law, who confirmed what BUYS said. ENNO was sent to inform GAIKA and the queen mother, that the general would meet them on the Kat River, where he arrived on the 21st of June; that day some couriers announced the approach of GAIKA, requesting that some officers and dragoons might be sent to meet him, with a wagon for his mother.

Describes the manner of their approach and reception.

"The conversation, the unembarrassed manner of the king, were interesting in the highest degree. His tall, fine, well proportioned form, his perfect age of 26, his open, benevolent, confiding countenance, the simplicity, yet dignity of his deportment, the striking

LICHTENSTEIN, Page 302--333

readiness of his judgment, and of his answers, his frankness and the rational view he took of things, combined to form a character such as is not often found amongst those who have infinitely greater advantages than GAIKA in forming their minds and persons.

The governor said, that the dissensions among the Kaffers had caused great misfortunes to the colony, since many of them had plundered to the very heart of it, and were now established beyond the boundary. This, GAIKA said, was not his fault, for he could not restrain the intruders, but that he had never taken the slightest share in their plunderings or devastations.

GAIKA said, he sincerely rejoiced to hear that the power of the Dutch was now so established that they could immediately repel any attack made upon them, for that the dissensions were as unfortunate to him as to themselves, since an asylum to his rebel chiefs, within the colony, was thus afforded. He seemed very much to rejoice to hear that the rebellious colonists, carried by the English to the Cape, had been mercifully dealt with. He said he was totally at variance with the Kaffers now in the colony, and in a state of most destructive war with them. On a proposition from the governor to send a messenger with proposals of peace to his rebellious subjects, GAIKA broke into bitter complaints, saying there was nothing he had more sought, than to preserve peace among his subjects. But that his uncle, who was ambitious to rule, could not bear to be the subject of his former pupil. It was he who had taught his subjects to rebel, and to forget that they owed him their faith and allegiance. He would not complain of his uncle's personal flight, but his having carried away so many subjects and waged a destructive war, were wholly unpardonable. They had even attempted his life, a

thing without example. GAIKA continued—"It was scarcely possible to live in peace with such men; the governor himself must recollect the horrors of which they had been guilty in their attack upon his countrymen. He had hoped that the Christians would be ready to unite with him against such atrocities; yet since the governor thought otherwise, and had condescended to make peace with them, he was ready to do the same on their unconditional submission. He would even promise to forgive all past offences, and take them under his protection. He had several times sent proposals of accommodation to them, but the messengers had been ill-received and sent back with contumely. No more overtures should be made on his part; it was their business to solicit peace. He considered that he was making no slight concession in promising, if the general could persuade them to submit, to receive them with kindness, forgetting all that had passed. He received with delight the general's proposal to send, when peace should be made, implements of husbandry and mechanical tools to the Kaffers; also to send a commissary, annually, to see that the articles of peace were punctually observed by the colonists and the Kaffers, and to settle differences. GAIKA considered the distance from Cape Town a great obstacle to the maintenance of such a friendship; and inquired whether a person could not be appointed, not too far from the border, to whom he could refer respecting the governor's pleasure. He was informed that the governor was equally anxious for a close union, and that the commandant at Algoa Bay could always be applied to. The boundaries of the colony to remain as settled by Governor PLETTENBERG. The king entirely approved of the proposition that no Christian should enter the Kaffer country without the permission of his government, or any Kaffer enter

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the colony without the king's permission. He would send information regarding Christians in the Kaffer country, to the commandant of Algoa Bay, and begged that information regarding Kaffers in the Christian country, might be sent thence. He had not the power to deliver up what had been taken from the Christians during the war—Hottentots, slaves, prisoners, horses, and cattle. If the Christians should reduce the rebel chiefs to obedience, this must be made a condition before their return to their own country is permitted. If they are driven to their country, and thus placed in his power, every thing shall be restored."

Gaika complied immediately with the governor's demand, that all white people should be compelled to quit the Kaffer country. If, he said, they remained, they would be considered enemies to their own country, and he their protector. He, however, desired to retain Buys, whom he knew well, and with whose council he could not dispense. Buys' dismissal was, however, insisted on, and Gaika was referred to the commandant of Algoa Bay.

Gaika faithfully promised that shipwrecked mariners should be kindly treated, property carefully guarded, and that information should immediately be given—hoping, however, that a suitable reward would be assured to every Kaffer who aided in the good work.

Gaika said that, four or five years ago, Meinier, the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, had sent presents to him, and promised others, if he would put Buys and Rensburg out of the way—offering him all their property and cattle; the sheep to be given up to the landdrost, and the horses divided between them. The proposal was indignantly rejected—the savage being incapable of betraying his friends, after an interchange of presents.

Gaika requested to be expressly informed how long the rebel Kaffers would be allowed to remain in the colony, if they did not aecept the proffered peaee; and receiving no decisive answer, he broke out anew against Sambeh, who had attacked and murdered Jan Botha, who, having fled from the colony when taken by the English, had been living with Gaika, and was on his way home. His property was seized and confiscated by Sambeh, who refused to restore it, on Gaika's requirement, to Jan Botha's widow. Lichtenstein, Page 302--333

It appeared that Gaika did not very clearly understand the relations between the English and the Dutch. When the colony was taken by the English, and ambassadors were sent to him, he could not comprehend what they wanted. Buys and other eolonists, not well affected towards the English, explained this by a simile, *i. e.*—The Dutch were owners of a large country, that which they possessed in Africa being, in comparison, only as a cattle-fold to a whole farm. The English, who were the Bosjemans of the sea, had taken their eattle-fold. "The English," Lichtenstein says, "were accordingly eonsidered in Kafferland as traitors and robbers, and treated accordingly." (Van der Kemp is his authority for this.) The king departed next morning with the utmost assuranee of personal friendship. Buys had permission to follow, and General Janssens and suite set out from the Kat River on their return to Graaff-Reinet.

Alberti, the commandant of Algoa Bay, shortly after resumed negotiations with the Kaffer ehiefs. They had broken up—each taking his kraal (or followers) to a separate circle of his own—but all between the Bosjemans and the Sunday Rivers. He found them disposed to be more friendly, and to show greater confidenee in the Dutch than at the

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former interview with the governor. They complained that GAIKA was still hostile; that he plundered their cattle, and would not send away BUYS, or send ambassadors of peace. Never, they said, until his conduct altered in these respects, could friendship be restored. GAIKA had similar complaints against the rebel chiefs. (Observation,—and it seems to have been as difficult to reconcile their differences as it is in other rude feudalisms.) On this LICHTENSTEIN observes (page 329): "It appears evident that hatred and distrust will not be readily removed, and during their continuance there is no hope that the rebel chiefs would be exhorted, or menaced to quit the colony, or even to move nearer the border—which was injurious, since the farmers were desirous of returning to their homes. They had punctually fulfilled all their engagements; given up the slaves, Hottentots, and some muskets; and they appeared to have no thoughts of disturbing the colonists. Yet the intercourse with them was exceedingly embarrassing—scarcely anything they said was wholly true; there was no reliance to be placed upon them. They shut their ears to all proposals towards conciliatory measures—answering, that it did not please them, or was not to be heard of. Neither did GAIKA's conduct accord with assurances made to the governor, or with the dictates of justice and humanity. His people indulged in acts of power and malignity towards their revolted countrymen, which were wholly unjustifiable. It was more than ever manifest that BUYS must quit his situation."

BUYS excused himself to ALBERTI, on the grounds that he wanted carriage for his property, and that there was danger in travelling through a country occupied by the king's enemies. He, however, reached Graaff-Reinet in November, escorted by troops

sent for his protection; he also brought two of his intimates in Kafferland, FABER, a German, and JOHN MADDEN, an English deserter. Seven of the Christians did not return; they intended to travel northward, and to reach De la Goa Bay. Four of these were colonists of high reputation, and three were English deserters; they imparted their plan to MADDEN, which was to procure powder, shot, and other necessaries, and then set off on their journey. They were narrowly watched by ALBERTI, set out unprepared for such a journey, followed the boundaries of the colony, and were in the sequel heard of about the Orange River. Such were the persons who then visited Kafferland, and such the dangers of allowing free intercourse between colonists and Kaffers. LICHTENSTEIN, Page 302--333

Although GAIKA was said to be much disposed to peace, and to reconciliation with his revolted subjects —excepting only SAMBEH—no advances were made. The good understanding between the colonists and the Kaffer chiefs continued, although the followers of the latter still continued individual robbery, which occasioned a great outcry. LICHTENSTEIN gives an example:—14 oxen were stolen from a Hottentot; they were tracked to SAMBEH's kraal; application was made to him; the robber was traced and put to death instantly. All but two of the oxen were restored; in lieu of those which had been killed, SAMBEH sent two of his own—with a third, as a present to the field-cornet of the district, who sent all three back. This SAMBEH took very much amiss, saying, if they were not accepted he should doubt the sincerity of the wishes so often expressed for peace. Yet, at a conference with ALBERTI, SAMBEH denied the whole transaction, fearing the reproaches of the governor; and that a contemptible opinion might be formed, by him, of the extent of his authority

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over his people. The other Kaffer chiefs were equally eager to prove how anxiously they desired to maintain a good understanding with the colonists, in whose country they lived, sending back stolen property to its owner, punishing the robbers, and always requesting that no complaints should be made to the governor, of which some curious examples are given. (Page 332.)

Alberti had interviews with the chiefs about the end of November, after hearing of the intended journey of the commissary-general (De Mist). He found them pertinaciously refusing to return or submit to Gaika, because he had not sent ambassadors or dismissed Buys (for of his dismissal they had not heard). Their reconciliation with the king was now, however, more urgently insisted on, and they were informed that a person in no less authority than the governor was approaching, who would see that the conditions of peace were punctually fulfilled.

The Kaffer children found in the colony were delivered up, which gave confidence; and people ventured to run about in small parties, visiting the colonists at their habitations, to their great annoyance. They were not, however, to be restrained, observing that they were no where so happy as among the Christians, and there was no better hunting country than that about the Gamtoos River. They said, that peace having been made, the agreement signed by the governor himself, they well knew that they had nothing to fear.

So ends the fragment of General Janssens' Journal, which Lichtenstein was permitted to use, and which occupies from the 302d to the 333d pages of the 1st Vol. of his "Travels in Southern Africa in 1803—4—5, and 6." Folio Ed., London, 1812.

In this situation, as described by Lichtenstein, the Commissary-General De Mist found affairs on

his arrival at Algoa Bay. His first object was to obtain interviews with the rebel chiefs still within the colony, and with GAIKA; to accommodate, if possible, their quarrels. GAIKA wished the commissary-general to advance beyond the Great Fish River, since he feared to leave his own home, at the Buffalo River, to go so far; besides, he was preparing for an attack, with his whole force, on his rebel subjects, in the hope of reducing them; although only allowed by the governor three months to return, they still continued to plunder and to rove about the Christians' country. Six months had elapsed, and if the period should be further protracted, there was some danger of GAIKA's being deserted by his own people and completely impoverished. He, therefore, only awaited the arrival of a body of Tambookies to pursue the rebels to the utmost extremity. GAIKA aeknowledged the commissary-general as regent of the colony, and was ready to march even to Cape Town to assist against his enemies, the English. He therefore hoped that the Dutch would, in like manner, assist him to subdue his rebel subjects. The ambassadors from the commissary-general were overtaken on their return by a portion of GAIKA's army, consisting of about 200 men, and informed that three other similar parties were on their advance towards the Fish River, where all were to unite to give battle to the rebels. The commissary-general hoped that the removal of BUYS from the king's councils would reconcile the rebels, and that the mediation of the Christians would have a powerful influence on all the Kaffers. But in any case it was necessary to render the boundaries of the colony respected, and to check the contests of savages within it. It was the business of the regent to animate the colonists, and to give confidence to them in their habitations and their country.

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Presently a reconciliation took place between GAIKA, CONGO, and JALUSA; preparations were continued against SAMBEH, who continued within the borders of the colony, whilst single hordes continued to annoy the colonists on the borders. They would not be persuaded by ALBERTI to quit; and, even had there been sufficient force, it was not deemed advisable to use it for that purpose. The Dutch government was satisfied to be on a half friendly footing with them, and to be sufficiently respected to be safe from further encroachments; or that the rebel Kaffers should consider it a favor to be suffered to remain in the colony on any terms. In this situation did the relations of the Dutch and the Kaffers remain until the colony was again taken in 1806 by the English; and as to any thing further relating to the subject, we are yet, LICHTENSTEIN observes, to be informed.

Do., p. 368.

LICHTENSTEIN goes on to describe the condition in which DE MIST found Graaff-Reinet. The inhabitants, he says, were always the most factious and turbulent; they were so remote that it was hardly possible to enforce the laws; and here many foreigners of perturbed minds have sought a home. It seemed inevitable that all would go backward in civilization, and that at last they would sink nearly as low in the scale of humanity as the former savage inhabitants. The separation of America from the mother country awakened many wild projects; which, to those acquainted with the helpless situation of the country, were laughable; and the subsequent revolution in France and Holland occasioned a universal ferment all over the colony. Describes the manner in which, in 1794, the commotions in Graaff-Reinet fairly broke out, and the subsequent proceedings during Lord MACARTNEY'S administration to quell them. STOCKENSTROM'S appointment to supersede the former land-

drost, MEINIER; the emigration of more than sixty families under the conduct of RENSBURG; how the Kaffers established themselves in the Southern part of the district; how the landdrost was worn out and returned to the Cape; the government having received intelligence that the colony was to be restored to the Dutch, disregarded these affairs, and the people were left to their fate. LICHTENSTEIN. Page 368.

Intelligence from Algoa Bay confirmed former news of the reconciliation between GAIKA and the rebel chiefs CONGO and JALUSA; SAMBEH's adherents were constantly dropping off, and it was hoped that he too would submit, or be obliged to leave the colony. Several hordes of Kaffers had quitted the colony. At Graaff-Reinet the importance of keeping upon friendly terms with the Kaffers was more than ever apparent—for to houses in ruins, desolated fields, and impoverished families, was added the catastrophe of losses sustained by the people of that district which, although only 2-3ds had given in their account, amounted to 858 horses, 4,475 oxen, 35,474 cows and calves, 34,023 sheep, and 2,480 goats.

Among the discontented was COENRAAD BUYS, an African born, a small farmer in Swellendam. In the year 1795 he was one of the warmest patriots and opposers of Orange principles. When the colony was taken by the English he fled to the Kaffers, either from dislike to the English, or fear of punishment. The powers which raised him so much to distinction in the assemblies of insurgents—his great strength of body, a countenance full of courage and ardour, a daring and active mind, with superior eloquence of speech, soon acquired him equal distinction among the savages. He gained the confidence of GAIKA's mother, and shared with her almost unbounded power. With BUYS' assistance she contrived to satisfy Do., Vol. 2.

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her brother-in-law, who was then endeavouring to deprive his nephew of the sovereignty, her husband, his brother, being dead. A year after Buys' flight, the Kaffer war began; whether urged by him is unknown. That he stirred the Kaffers against the English is probable—but not so that the desolation of the country was prompted by him. He remained quietly with the queen, and neither she nor the young king took any share in the disturbances. It was the tribes to which Sambeh, Congo, and Jalusa, adherents of the pretender, were the heads, who did the mischief —the desire of the Kaffers for plunder, perhaps created by the necessities of an increasing population.

I subscribed to the Graham's Town Library, principally that I might get a copy of Professor Lichtenstein's Work; and the Notes from which the above Extracts are given, were made during the few days I staid with Mr. West there. There must, of course, be much more of interest on the same subject in the Work; although, I hope that, in reading it rather hurriedly, I seized upon the most prominent facts; for the book is hardly less authentic than "The Record" itself.

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Lichtenstein and General Janssens together, appeared on the scene in Kafferland as men of superior calibre, and acquaintance with such things in the European world, to shed a new light on the character and institutions of the Kaffers; from whatsoever region that race of men may have come, and there is of course no reason why they may not have emigrated from either shore of the Red Sea by land, which is perhaps more probable than that their emigration was,

* Some of the Commentaries, particularly those on Jarsveld's Expedition against the Kaffers, were Notes in the Manuscript; but in the 15 Commentaries sent to Mr. Montagu, from Graaff-Reinet, on the 7th October, 1844, most of these, and the 18th, or last, were included.

with either the Phenicians or their descendants, the Carthaginians, or with the Arabs, by sea. And when we reflect on the wonders of Tartar emigration, as shown by HUMBOLD, from island to island by sea, to people the shores of Southern America, at an early period,* the emigration from the Red Sea to the Southern-most point of Africa, will cease to excite our wonder. ROBERTSON says, that the Carthaginians, after visiting the coasts of Spain, those of Gaul, and penetrating into Britain, made considerable progress by land into the interior provinces of Africa, trading with some of them, and subjugating others to their empire ; that they sailed along the western coast of the continent almost to the tropic of Cancer, planting several colonies in order to civilize the natives, and accustom them to commerce. A Phenician fleet, we are told, fitted out by NECHO, king of Egypt, took its departure about 604 years before the Christian era, from a port in the Red Sea, doubled the southern promontory of Africa, and after a voyage of three years, returned by the Straits of Gades to the mouth of the Nile. (HERODT. lib. iv. c. 42.)

Commentary No. 18.

History of America, Book I.

However difficult it may be to procure information concerning nations while they remain uncivilized, and however prone men may be to affix the idea of perfection to those attainments which resemble their own, and where those are wanting to pronounce a people to be barbarous and miserable ; and however liable members of communities, unequal in their degrees of improvement, may be to regard each other with mutual contempt,—still it can hardly be, that during the long period which elapsed from the time when BARTHOLOMEW DIAS† and VASCO DE GAMA first

* See also Professor PLAYFAIR's Narrative.

† If BARTHOLOMEW DIAS really reached Algoa Bay, it was, of course, during the reign of JOHN II., of Portugal, in 1480 or 1490.

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touched the shores of Kaffraria, until BARROW and LICHTENSTEIN visited that people on friendly political missions, other persons, capable of forming a just estimate of their resources and institutions, did not travel amongst the Kaffers, and throw light on those interesting subjects. But if so, I am unacquainted with their writings. We seem to be principally indebted to shipwrecked sailors, and to the interest which they felt in the Kaffer people, from the kindness, hospitality, and protection, which, in their helpless and forlorn condition, they received from them, for our knowledge of the Kaffers, until BARROW, LICHTENSTEIN, and VAN DER KEMP, went amongst them. BANNISTER, indeed, (Appendix No. 10, pp. 107—8—9,) gives a list of printed books and manuscripts relating to the south and eastern coast of Africa, from which, he says, an almost uninterrupted history might be compiled, but most of those works are far beyond my reach.

Still less seems to be known of the origin, manners, and institutions of the Hottentots and Bosjemans than of those of the Kaffers when Europeans first settled in South Africa. But that all the tribes had institutions peculiar to themselves, and according to the degree of their civilization, who can doubt who has studied the character of the great family of mankind! There can be no reason why the Hottentot should not have come from the far north, along the western coast, or through the centre of Africa. The Bosjeman seems to be an aborigine; and, like the Bheel, the Ramoosie, and the Ghond of India, (with whom they appear to have many attributes in common,) may have been driven into the caves, woods, and poorer tracts of country by the original invaders of it. Having but few wants, and those supplied by the bounteous hand of nature, who can doubt but that, amidst the

wild flowers, the honey, the roots and bulbs, and the wild animals of Southern Africa, the Bosjeman was a happy being until the rude hand of the European and Christian took the pasturage lands of his eland, quagga, gnu, and spring buck, and despoiled him of these things; and eventually either exterminated the race, or forced them into other lands. ROBERTSON says, it has seldom been the lot of communities, in their early and unpolished state, to fall under the observation of persons endowed with force of mind, superior to vulgar prejudices, and capable of contemplating man, under whatever aspect he appears, with a candid and discerning eye. The Dutch in Africa, like the Spaniards in South America, were so eager to take possession of the country, and happy to find it occupied by inhabitants so incapable to defend it, that they hastily pronounced them to be a wretched order of men, formed merely for servitude, and were more employed in computing the value of their labour, than inquiring into the operations of their minds, or the reasons of their customs and institutions. ROBERTSON says, that almost two centuries elapsed after the discovery of America, before the manners of its inhabitants attracted, in any considerable degree, the attention of philosophers. About the same period has elapsed since the conquest, or usurpation, of a portion of our present colonial possessions. Yet Mr. LAWRENCE says, "the tribes of South Africa, near the European colony at the Cape, the Hottentots, Kaffers, Bosjemans, &c. are not yet enough known to enable us to decide whether they ought to be arranged under the Ethiopian variety, or whether they belong to a different type." There appears to be no doubt but that, even supposing him to belong to the Negro family, the poor Bosjeman stands very low in the scale of organization, and consequently of faculties.

Commentary, No. 18.

Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, &c. by WILLIAM LAWRENCE, F. R. S., 7th Ed., London, 1838.

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On this Mr. LAWRENCE very beautifully observes, "The very argument which has been used for defence," in enslaving them, "seems to me a tenfold aggravation of the enormity. Superior endowments, higher intellect, greater capacity for knowledge, arts, and science, should be employed to extend the blessings of civilization, and multiply the enjoyments of social life; not as a means of oppressing the weak and ignorant, of plunging those who are naturally low in the intellectual scale more deeply into the abyss of barbarism." (P. 245—6.)

It may now be feared whether the opportunity has not been lost of attaining a knowledge of the characteristics which apparently distinguish the Bosjeman from the other varieties of mankind; for if any of the poor Bosjemans have escaped the tyranny and persecutions to which they have been so long subjected, the tribes do not remain entire and unsubdued; and vast changes must have been made on individual manners and ideas by the condition of (almost worse than) slavery to which they have been reduced; worse than slavery; for the imported slave was valuable property, and might be sold; but the Dutch law of 1636, already quoted, prevented the colonist from reducing the aborigines to actual slavery; and having no saleable value, their condition was, in reality, more deplorable than the condition of the slave himself.

ROBERTSON says that "in the islands of the new world, where four-footed animals were both few and small, and the earth yielded her productions almost spontaneously,—the constitution of the natives neither braced by the active exercises of the chase, nor invigorated by the labour of cultivation, was extremely feeble and languid. On the continent, where the forests abound with game of various kinds, and the chief occupation of many tribes was to pursue it, the

human frame acquired greater firmness; still, however, the Americans were more remarkable for agility than strength. They resembled beasts of prey rather than animals formed for labour. They were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it; and when roused by force from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they sunk* under tasks which the people of the other continent would perform with ease. This feebleness of constitution was universal among the inhabitants of those regions of America," says the professor, "which we are surveying, and may be considered characteristic of the species there." Commentary No. 18.

Robertson's description may be considered applicable to the condition of man, in the same degree of civilization, in South Africa, as in South America; with such diversity only as difference of climate and food will necessarily produce; and although it may now be impossible for any hand to trace the nice distinctions which existed in the respective characters of the Bosjemans, the Hottentot, and the Kaffer, the distinguishing characteristics in those classes appear to be very strongly marked, even from the little that is known of them.

It has been observed that there is less variety in the human form, throughout the new world, than in the ancient continent; and the same thing is equally observable in the several varieties of the race in South Africa; for, although there is no doubt that, on our first acquaintance with any races of men, we are just as liable, indiscriminately, to blend their personal

* To this cause may be ascribed the fearful loss of life when the Spaniards forced the people of Mexico to prepare the tunnel, (greater far, I believe, than the Thames Tunnel,) to drain the Mexican lake, and save the city from the danger of inundation, and the loss of life in the construction of Napolean's great military road in Java. Each work costing the aborigines 20,000 men, I think, it is said.

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appearanee, as their manners and institutions, into resemblanees which do not properly belong to them; yet, as far less of philosophic investigation is neeessary to distinguish a variety of eountenanee in the variety of the different types of men, than in their institutions and customs, we see mueh sooner that all Bosjemans, all Hottentots, and all Kaffers, are not alike, than we are able to aseertain what differenee exists, or whenee it arises, in the manners and customs of the several varieties.

To pursue the eomparison between the several varieties in South Afriea, and in Ameriea, as deseribed by the professor. The Bosjemans appear to bear the strongest resemblanee to the people originally inhabiting the distriet situated in the isthmus of Darien;* for Robertson has divided the varieties in the human speeies in the new world, into three different distriets. The Hottentot appears to bear the strongest resemblanee to those originally inhabiting the eoast of Labrador; whilst the Kaffers—dropping the first fabulous aeeounts of the Patagonians—bear the strongest resemblanee to the people inhabiting the region whieh extends from the River de la Plata to the Straits of Magellan. In the hunting season they often roam as far as the straits whieh separate Tierra del Feugo from the main land, and there is no keeping them, any more than the Kaffers, at home.

Robertson says, "some large breeds of horses and dogs exeeed the more diminutive raees in stature and strength as far as the Patagonian is supposed to rise above the usual standard of the human body. But animals attain the highest perfeetion of their speeies only in mild elimates, or where they find the most nutritive food in the greatest abundanee."

* I do not mean the unhappy Albinos; or, as Robertson says the Dutch call them, the Kackerlakes.

The effect of climate on man and beast in South Afriea, did not escape BARROW. He says man, and other animals, inerease in bulk in proportion to the elevation of the country they inhabit. In the plains of the Zuurveld, and along the sea coast, the cattle are small and lean, and sheep can scarcely exist. On the heights of Bruyntjes Hoogte there are the finest oxen in the colony, the shcep equal to those of the snowy mountains, nor are the heights lcss favorable to the growth of man. Commentary No. 18.

The resemblance, in personal appearance, between the Bosjcman and the Bheel of India eannot escape observation by any person who has seen even individuals of cach variety; the Bheel being, like the Bosjcman, an eater of flesh, and an aborigine, driven into the mountains and jungles by the Hindoo and Mohammedan conquerors of the plains. The British government has also been obliged, on sevcral oceasions, to arm against this diminutive, but comparatively fierce raee of men; they are, in India, eonsidered an almost unarmed pcople, having only bows, and gencrally, unpoisoned arrows, with a small sprinkling of fire-arms and swords. They have in Khandesh, Malwa, and Rajpootana, bccn formcd into corps, under British offieers, and have every whcre, through good pay and good treatment, been made good soldiers,—quite sufficient to keep their brethren in check. The objeet has always been to turn them from their predatory habits, by giving them land, and forming agricultural colonies of them, along the margin of thcir fastnesses; and this object has never failed of attainment.*

* It is very remarkable that paintings in colors, almost as vivid as the day they were laid on, have lately been discovered in the beautiful Boodist caves of Adjunta. These paintings, it was proposed by Captain GRESLEY and Mr. RALPH, to publish at Bombay, and subscriptions were entered into, but whether this has been done I know not. The Bheels

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The Hottentots, as we now see them, may bear some comparison with the inhabitants of the Carnatic, and those of the Malabar Coast; and other rice and fish-eating people of India.

And the Kaffer I would even venture to compare with the chivalrous Rajpoot of Upper India, although immeasurably inferior, at present, in every respect to that noble race. Yet there are capabilities in the Kaffers which may hereafter develop themselves, and render them capable of following us, under good discipline, good treatment, and good pay, to fight our battles in any part of the world; for there appears to be no reason why the men who have a national and warlike spirit, which renders them—in the present degree of their organization—capable of throwing away the wooden part of the assagai, braving the fire of artillery and musketry, and meeting the British soldier in a hand to hand combat, should not, under British officers, and a well established discipline, be taught to follow us and fight our battles, even amidst the snowy Caucasus—as 12,000 Rajpoots in former days, under MAHARAJA JEY SINGH, fought the battles of their friend the Emperor UKHBAR, on that field; and as they have lately fought our battles in Affghanistan. The Rajpoot is the mildest, the most faithful, and most tractable of men, being an eater of wheat, but neither of flesh nor fish. BARROW says of the Kaffers—"From the nature of his food, chiefly milk, his manners are mild and gentle, whilst the chase gives him an erect deportment, and a boldness and openness of expression."

lived in these caves but the paintings are too Egyptian in character, probably, to be attributed to them. The rock portraits of animals, in charcoal, by the Bosjeman, are well known. The delicacy and fidelity of those of the antelope and buffalo, still to be seen near Shiloh, will, I think, surprise any one. The Bosjemans themselves, following the wild animals, have left the country.

Perhaps the most interesting and important discussion that ever took place, with respect to the management of colonial possessions, was that of 1517, described by ROBERTSON, (History of America, Book III.) when FERDINAND of Spain appointed RODRIGO ALBUQUERQUE to supersede Don DIEGO COLUMBUS in the power which he possessed in Hispaniola, of distributing Indians among the Spaniards settled in the island, bestowing that abhorrent power, however, on ALBUQUERQUE. He began by taking an exact number of the inhabitants of the island, and found that from 60,000 who, in 1508, survived all their sufferings, they were, in 1515, reduced to 14,000. These ALBUQUERQUE divided into separate lots, and bestowed on such as were willing to purchase them at the highest price. The additional calamities thus inflicted, "completed the misery, and hastened on the extinction of this wretched and innocent race of men."

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The Dominican missionaries were most vehement in condemning the distributions. Don DIEGO, the principal officers, and all the laymen, complained of the conduct of the monks. The Franciscans, from opposition and rivalship, inclined towards the laity; alleging, in excuse for the conduct of their countrymen, that it was impossible to carry on any improvement in the colony unless the Spaniards possessed such dominion over the natives, that they could compel them to labour.

FERDINAND appointed a committee of his privy council, assisted by some of the most eminent civilians and divines in Spain, to decide between the deputies sent from Hispaniola in support of their respective opinions. The result was in favor of the Dominicans, but produced no benefit to the aborigines, although they were declared a free people, entitled to all the natural rights of men; at length FERDINAND issued a

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decree, declaring that the servitude of the Indians was warranted by both the laws of God and man; because it would otherwise be impossible to reclaim them from idolatry, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith. The Dominicans, and monks of other orders, were directed to abstain from those invectives, which, through an excess of charitable, but ill-informed zeal, they had uttered against the distributions, as the king and council were willing to take the charge of that upon their consciences.

Ferdinand conferred new grants of Indians upon several of his courtiers; endeavoring to regulate, by edict, the work to be required of them, and the manner of their being clothed, fed, and instructed in the principles of christianity.

Some of the Dominicans, in despair, requested the permission of their superiors to remove to the continent, in order to pursue the objects of their mission amongst such of the natives as were not corrupted by the Spaniards, or alienated by their cruelty from the Christian faith.

Bartholomew de las Casas, a clergyman, who accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, advocated the cause of the natives; but finding that attention to his own interests rendered Albuquerque deaf to admonition, he set out for Spain, in the hope of softening the heart and opening the eyes of Ferdinand. He found the king much enfeebled by disease in mind and body. He was alarmed by the charge of impiety, which at another time he would have despised, and promised to take into serious consideration the means of redressing the evil of which Las Casas complained.

But death stopped the career of Ferdinand.

Cardinal Ximenes, the Regent, without regarding the rights of Don Diego Columbus, resolved to send

three persons to America, as superintendents of the colonies, selected from amongst the monks of St. Jerome; to these he joined Zuazo, a private lawyer, of distinguished probity, with unbounded power to regulate all judicial proceedings in the colonies. Las Casas accompanied them, with the title of Protector of the Indians. Commentary No. 18.

Arrived in America, their first act was to set at liberty all the Indians who had been granted to courtiers, or other non-residents. The fathers displayed at every step of their proceedings a knowledge of the world and of affairs, seldom acquired in a cloister, with moderation and gentleness still more rare among persons trained up in the solitude and austerity of monastic life. They became, however, satisfied, that the state of the colony rendered it impossible to adopt the proposed plan. That the Spaniards were so few in numbers that they could not work the mines, or cultivate the country, the alternative, to holding the natives in servitude, being, that the conquest must be relinquished, or the hope of all advantage from it be abandoned. Nothing but the authority of a master could compel the natives to work; their natural listlessness and indifference were so great, that unless constantly kept under the eye and discipline of a superior, they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rites of christianity which they had been taught;—therefore the "distributions" were tolerated, and the Indians must be suffered to remain under subjection to their Spanish masters. Former regulations were revised, new ones prescribed, and no circumstance was left neglected that tended to mitigate the rigour of the yoke. By their authority, example, and exhortations, the superintendents laboured to inspire their countrymen with sentiments of equity and gentleness towards the unhappy people,

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on whose industry they depended. Zuazo seconded the endeavours of the superintendents. He reformed the courts of justice, so as to render their decisions equitable and expeditious, and introduced various regulations, which greatly improved the internal police of the colony; his conduct, and that of the superintendents, gave universal satisfaction to the colonial Spaniards; and the boldness of Ximenes, in departing from the usual path in forming his plan, and in selecting such persons to carry it on, was admired by all.

The prudential considerations which influenced the superintendents made no impression upon Las Casas —who regarded their accommodating conduct to the state of the colony, as a maxim of an unhallowed timid policy, which tolerated what was unjust, because it was beneficial. As protector of the Indians he contended that they were free by nature, and not to be bereaved of the common privileges of humanity. The superintendents received his most virulent remonstrances without emotion, but adhered firmly to their own system. The Spanish planters were ready to tear him to pieces. Las Casas found it necessary to take shelter in a convent, and soon after set out for Europe.

He found the Regent, Ximenes, at the point of death. Charles arrived from the Low Countries, accompanied by many of the Flemish nobility. The fathers of St. Jerome, and Zuazo were recalled; a lawyer of some eminence was appointed chief judge of Espaniola, and in compliance with the request of Las Casas received instructions to examine once more the point in controversy between him and the colonists, and in the mean time to do every thing in his power to alleviate the sufferings of the natives, and prevent the extinction of the race—as labour

was not procurable whilst the natives were treated as a free people—Las Casas proposed to purchase a certain number of negroes from the Portuguese* on the coast of Africa, for slavery in America. The odious commerce, which had long been abolished in Europe, was thus, in 1517, on a great scale revived. In 1503 a few slaves had been imported to America; in 1511 Ferdinand permitted their importation in greater numbers. They were more robust and hardy, and patient, under servitude, than the natives of America, the labour of one negro being reckoned equal to that of four Americans. Ximenes had promptly rejected the proposition. But Las Casas, while labouring hard for the liberty of the American, pronounced it lawful and expedient to enslave the African. Charles granted a patent to his Flemish favorites, for importing 4000 Africans into America. The patent was sold to Genoese merchants, for 25,000 ducats, and a commerce in slaves from Africa to America, thus took a regular form. The patentees conducted their operations in the spirit of monopolists, demanding such high prices, at first, that no great change was made in the state of the colony.

Las Casas' scheme for the relief of the Indians, was to exclude soldiers and sailors, who had mostly settled there, being the original discoverers and conquerors of the country, most of them desperate adventurers, dissolute, rapacious, and incapable of

* The peculiar infamy of being the first to enslave and sell the Negro for exportation to America, belongs to the Portuguese; and they, and their descendants in Brazils, are the last to continue that infamous traffic. The late resolution, originating with Sir Charles Metcalfe, I think, when Governor of Jamaica, to engage and carry to Jamaica free Negroes, whose condition may be improved there, will, however, it may be hoped, render this an unprofitable trade to the Brazilians; and the difference in customs' duty, in favor of sugar grown by free men, may altogether extinguish the trade.

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that sober persevering industry, which is requisite in forming new colonies. Instead of these, he proposed to allure from Europe, by premiums, a sufficient number of laborers and husbandmen. Although, in this scheme, and other schemes, Las Casas had the support of the Flemish ministers, he was defeated by the Bishop of Burgos.

Where Spaniards were already settled, it was almost hopeless to endeavour to procure relief to the Indians. But on the vast continent only one feeble colony had been planted; the natives still occupied the whole country, and Las Casas hoped that, although he had failed to overturn a pernicious system, he might prevent its introduction. He applied for a grant of country, stretching along the sea coast, from Paria to Santa Martha, and proposed to settle there with a colony, composed of husbandmen, laborers, and ecclesiastics; no soldiers or sailors were to settle there, and no Spaniard to enter it without his permission. It was a part of his scheme to clothe the people, whom he took with him, in a dress so dissimilar to that of the Spaniards, that they might appear, to the natives, a different race of men from those who had brought so many calamities on their country.

In this scheme Las Casas was again defeated by the Bishop of Burgos and the Council of the Indies. He had recourse to his friends, the Flemish favorites, and they supported the scheme merely because it had been rejected by the Spanish ministers. Charles referred it to a select number of his privy counsellors, they warmly approved of the plan, and gave orders for carrying it into execution, restricting the allotted territory to three hundred miles along the coast of Cumana, but allowing Las Casas to extend it as far as he pleased towards the interior of the country.

Charles paused to carry out a scheme so generally

exclaimed against, by most persons who had been in the West Indies; for, although accustomed, at this early period of life, to adopt the sentiments of his ministers, to an extent which did not promise that decisive vigour of mind, which distinguished his riper years, yet he could not fail to suspect, that the eagerness with which the Flemings took part in American affairs, flowed from improper motives. He accordingly began to show an inclination to examine in person the questions concerning the character of the Americans, and the proper manner of treating them. Queved, the Bishop of Darien, who went to America in 1513, was present; his sentiments concerning the talents and disposition of the Indians were known to differ from those entertained by Las Casas.—Charles naturally concluded that, by confronting the Bishop and the Dominican, both having had, during their residence in America, full leisure to observe the manners of the people whom they pretended to describe, he himself might be able to discover which of them had formed his opinion with the greatest discernment and accuracy. Commentary No. 18.

A day of solemn audience was appointed. The Emperor appeared with extraordinary pomp, and took his seat on a throne in the great hall of the palace. His principal courtiers attended. Don Diego Columbus, Admiral of the Indies, was summoned to be present. The Bishop was first called to deliver his opinion. In a short speech, he lamented the desolation of the colonies, by the extinction of so many of their inhabitants, attributable, in some degree, to the excessive rigour and inconsiderate proceedings of the Spaniards; but declaring that he considered all the inhabitants of the new world, whom he had seen, to be a race marked out by the inferiority of their talents for servitude, and whom it would be

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impossible to instruct or improve, unless they were kept under the continual inspection of a master. Las Casas, at greater length, and with more fervour, defended his own system. He rejected, with indignation, the idea that any race of men was born to servitude, as irreligious and inhuman. He asserted that the faculties of the Americans were not naturally despicable, but unimproved; that they were capable of receiving instruction in the principles of religion, as well as of acquiring the industry and arts which would qualify them for the various offices of social life; that the mildness and timidity of their nature, rendered them so submissive and docile, that they might be formed and led with a gentle hand. He professed that his intentions in proposing the scheme now under consideration, were pure and disinterested, and though, from the accomplishment of his designs, inestimable benefits would result to the crown of Castile, he never had claimed, nor ever would receive, any recompense on that account.

Never, perhaps, in the history of mankind, was a young monarch, (for Charles the V. was then only 17,) to whom the destinies of man were entrusted, called upon to decide on a question of more momentous import to the future weal or woe of a great portion of the race, whom it has pleased the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, to place lowest in the scale of humanity. Who can doubt, but that, even as wild hunters, living on the spontaneous productions of their land, the aborigines of all countries were happy, until despoiled by the European and the Christian of all that could support life, or render it bearable. Charles had then, not only to afford what redress was possible to the aborigines of the country, which the reign of his predecessor, and of Isabella, had the glory (25 years before) of dis-

covering, but protcetion for the future; and to afford to the other Christian and European nations, an example of mereiful and enlightened rule over aborigines, at this early period of the revival of colonization, under the new form whieh it had assumed. On this deeision, too, rested the question, to some extent, at all events, whether the spread of eivilization and of our holy religion, over regions of darkness, would be a sufficient compensation and atonement for all the miseries which an innoeent and helpless people were sure to suffer at the hands of those, who, more enlightened and powerful, had only their own selfish and interested purposes to gratify.

Who does not tremble for the fate of the American? whose future destiny was in the hands of a ruler, who was himself tainted with the iniquity of granting a patent to his favorite counsellors, for reducing to a still more degrading and hopeless state of slavery, 4000 of the inhabitants of another region, and of a council, many of whom were eoncerned in selling that patent to slave dealers and importers?—the remainder of the eouneil, and most of the Spanish nobility, being the principal possessors of the lands and labour of the aborigines; whilst their only advocate, although labouring hard for their freedom, had not discrimination enough to see that it was still more iniquitous to pronounce, as he did, that it was lawful and expedient to enslave the African, and eonsequently to tear him away from the land of his birth.

Charles,—Robertson proceeds—after hearing both, and consulting with his ministers, did not think himself suffieiently informed to establish any general arrangement with respect to the state of the Indians; but, as he had perfect confidence in the integrity of Las Casas, and as even the Bishop of Darien, admitted his scheme to be of such importance,

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that a trial should be made of its effects, the emperor issued a patent, granting him the district in Cumana, formerly mentioned, with full power to establish a colony there, according to his own plan.

It is unnecessary here to record how Las Casas departed to undertake the duties of the new and difficult office which he had taken upon himself,—the secret opposition which he encountered from the Spanish nobility, who universally dreaded the success of an institution that might rob them of the industrious and useful hands which cultivated their estates. How his endeavour to engage, in Spain, husbandmen and labourers was so slow, that eventually only 200 accompanied him to Cumana; the formidable obstacles which he met with, and the final miscarriage of his scheme.

I shall accordingly endeavour, after this long digression, to describe, more minutely, from the records in my possession, the condition in which the Dutch government found the Bosjemans, the Hottentots, and the Kaffers, on their first acquaintance with them. The records are, I fear, very meagre; and my want of practice in such discussions very little qualifies me for entering on a discussion, both delicate and interesting—if, indeed, in other respects, I could consider myself qualified. But if the work should hereafter be taken up and completed, by any more practised and qualified hand and mind, my object will be more than attained; and any little trouble which I may have had in, with all humility, pointing the way, amply compensated. To enable me, however, to form any correct opinion of the actual condition of the aborigines when the Dutch first came amongst them, it will be necessary again to examine Mr. Moodie's "Record," more minutely this time. I shall accordingly enter on the task with what patience I can muster.

Commentary No. 18.

1st.—The Kaffers.

2nd.—The Hottentots.

3rd.—The Bosjemans. This is a great deviation from the task which I at first assigned to myself, and which referred only to the Kaffers; but it may not, as I think, be found altogether devoid of interest; or even of importance, in the future consideration of such questions by those to whom such consideration belongs as a duty.

J. SUTHERLAND.

Graaff-Reinet, October 11th, 1844.

PART II.

THE KAFFERS.

The Kaffers. 1649, July 26. "The Record"

OTHERS will say that the natives are savages and eannibals, and that no good is to be expected from them. We of the ship *Haarlem*, testify to the eontrary; for after the ship had lain there (at the Cape) for five months, the natives eame to the fort daily to trade, with perfect amity, and brought eattle and sheep in quantities. When the *Princes Royaal* arrived with 80 or 90 siek, the *Haarlem* supplied them with eattle and sheep, which were on board; so that, next to God, her preservation was owing to this refreshment. The ehief mate, earpenter, and corporal were at their houses treated in a friendly manner; had they been inclined to eannibalism they might easily have beaten them to death. So that beyond all doubt their killing our people happens more out of revenge for taking their cattle, than for the purpose of eating them. When last year the fleet lay at the Cape, instead of making any recompense to the natives for their good treatment of the *Haarlem's* people, they shot and took away without payment 7 or 8 of their cattle, which may cost some of our people their lives. The natives are very found of peas, beans, and bread, and if treated with a belly full of food there would not be the least reason to fear them. Whilst the siek lay on shore for six or eight weeks, the natives came daily to fetch wood and to eook, and learnt to say "hout halen," then "eeten," and to call almost all the people by their names, and

speak some words, so that, beyond doubt, they will learn our language. We may employ some of their children as boys and servants, and educate them in the Christian religion, by which means, if it pleases God Almighty to bless this good cause, as at Tayouan and Formosa, many souls will be brought to God; whereby, beyond all doubt, your honors' trade over all India will be more and more blessed; may your honors be blessed with wisdom and understanding in such a manner that it may lead to the glorifying of God's holy name, the establishment of the Church of Christ, and your individual honor and expectation. The Kaffers. 1649, July 26.

LEENDERT JANZ.
N. PROOT.

Amsterdam, July 26th, 1649.

Note.—The people found in the neighbourhood of, apparently, Table Bay, were most likely the Ottentoo, although they are not so named.

Besides the quantities of horned cattle and sheep, quantities of elands, steenbucks, and other animals, are also said to be found at the Cape. If we get on good terms with the natives, we might derive great profit from hides, if well dried, rolled tightly together as is done in Siam, they could be sent to Batavia, and thence to Japan, where they are in good demand; there are also to be had rabbits and other small animals, with soft skins for peltries; as to oil, or catching whales and seals, were this resolved upon, I can therein also do your honors very good service, as I have been formerly in Greenland, and have observed the process; the diffieulty about fire-wood is small matter, for after a single kettle is boiled, the

The Kaffers. 1649. July 26.

whale always finds his own fuel from the boiled blubber or fritters. The natives learning our language is a good thing, and the propagation of our Christian reformed religion is still better. Your honors may in time think about our further promotion, in particular after having executed the duties at the Cape, I shall have been sent out to India. Contributing all possible exertion towards the service of the company, and the individual honor of

Your Honors' &c.,

JAN VAN RIEBEECK,

(First Governor of the Colony.)

Amsterdam, June, 1651.

1651, March 25.

Instructions to Commanders of Ships.

That the passage of East India ships to and from Batavia may, without accident, touch at the Cape or Bay, and obtain refreshments; a general rendezvous is to be found near the shore of the Cape; the inhabitants are a rude people, and a defence is necessary against their attacks; a small defensive fort shall be made near the Fresh (Soete) River; the river may be conducted around, or through the middle of the fort, and give to the fort the name of Goede Hoop; 70 or 80 persons must be lodged in the fort; you will take the best and richest ground for gardens, and inspect near the fort the land best suited for despasturing and breeding cattle; good terms must be kept with the natives to reconcile them to our customs, and to attach them, taking care that they are not injured

in their persons, or in the eattle which they bring, by whieh they may be rendered averse from our people, as has happened in various instanees, until in time the natives may be trusted; the eattle should not remain in the fields, but be lodged in the fort during the night, returning to the fields in the morning. Experience will show what sort of fruits are suitable to the climate, and at what season of the year each kind should be sown and planted. We all wish you mueh good fortune and sueeess in your voyage. The Kaffers. 1651, March 25.

Done and resolved by the assembly of sixteen,

D. PRUYS.

Amsterdam, March 25th, 1651.

The commanders will not be the first to give any offenee to any nation in friendship, allianee, or neutrality with their high highnesses the States General. The Company has declared the Portuguese to be enemies by sea and land, and against them war will be proseeuted in all plaees within the limits of the East India Charter. If any friendly nation eome to the Cape to form an establishment, you will remain passive, provided they keep beyond the jurisdietion of sueh plaees as you shall think proper to take possession of, and to protect for your seeurity, and for the rearing of all kinds of eattle and fruits. You will immediately make inspeetion of the fields and arable ground, most suitable and serviceable to the eompany, ereeting marks of oeeupation, and making the same as a proof that sueh arable ground and fields have been taken possession of by you, for the eompany. December 12.

Thus done, &e.

The Kaffers. 1653, May.

A German priest—says VAN RIEBEECK—named MARTINUS MARTINY, came to the Cape from Batavia. He had lived many years in China, and travelled all over India. He said that in June, July, and August, the Dutch could easily communicate with Rio dos Reyos, about 280 mylen East of the Cape, on the coast of Africa, about half way to Mozambique, in $25\frac{1}{2}$· S. lat., where much gold, ivory, ebony, and naked Kaffers, or slaves, were to be had at a very cheap rate for Guinea linen, red cotton, coarse and colored clothing, tobacco, iron, glass, beads of all colours, small bells, and salt. That the Portuguese annually procured all their gold and slaves at that place, and at Os Montos d' Uro, in lat. $28\frac{1}{2}°$; that the Dutch with small galliots of 4 to 10 guns, could navigate as easily from the Cape as they from Mozambique, where, he said, they had only about 20 natives and no fortifications—their only place of strength being Mozambique, where they had only 2 or 3 small vessels, with 2 guns each; they were much in want of European supplies, which they could only procure from Goa. Why should they not be as willing to trade with us as with the inhabitants? says VAN RIEBEECK—after passing Terra de Natal there is nothing but very fine weather to be expected, and as far as the Bays or Rivers called River de Cuama and River de St. George, there is no less gold to be had for the above specified goods. Many maintain that it is the true Ophir whence SOLOMON imported his gold. Two horses arrived, and a third expected from Batavia. If we had a dozen we could ride armed to some distance into the interior, and see whether any thing is to be had there. More horses have been commissioned, and some light English saddles are requested, with bridles, holsters, and light pistols—the two saddles sent from Batavia are old and broken.

Extract from separate Papers on Hottentots.—("The Record," p. 273.) The Kaffers. 1659, June.

A mission from OEDASEA represented that their chief desired a closer allianee with the Dutch; that just before the late stormy weather, the Caepmans and the Gorachoquas had sent presents to him and his confrator, NGONOMA, asking for assistance against the Dutch, or permission to move further into the interior, away from their persecutors—but that he and NGONOMA returned the presents, and rejected the proposed alliance. That they had also recalled all their people from the Gorachoquas, lest they should suffer when the Duteh attacked that people; that a difference on this point had arisen between himself and NGONOMA, and that they had separated—the latter intending to wateh results, not aiding the Caepmans or Goraehoquas; but, if all went well, proposing to trade with the Duteh, as before. (These Cochoquas are so obviously the people now designated Kaffers that I shall, from this period, transfer the records or observations, relating to them, to the separate papers respecting Kaffers.) OEDASEA sent ambassadors, who were well entertained, and who gave great encouragement to all the free farmers and burgers, who now perceived some prospect of procuring eattle enough; they came to see how matters stood at the Cape, and whether the eommander was seriously disposed to make war on the Caepmans; for the purpose of eonsidering how the Dutch and he, could best ruin the Caepmans and Gorachoquas. OEDASEA requested that his wife's sister, EVA, and some Dutch, might return to him with his people, for whose safety he would be answerable, promising to bring 10 or 12 houses elose by, under the Leopard Berg, behind the Salt Pans, and to send his greatest and favored wife, EVA's sister, to the fort with our

"The Record" Page 172.

The Kaffers. 1659, June.

people, to convey to us words of comfort from his own lips; united, the Caepmans and Gorachoquas could have no chance against them; we need give ourselves no concern about the cattle we had lost to them, as our loss would be recovered twice over, and he would sell us so many that we should not be in want; he recommended us, however, to take care of the cattle we had left. He was delighted to find us at war with the Caepmans, and hoped that we would never make peace with them again, because those rogues never remained long at peace with any one, and could not live without robbing and murdering; their object being to try and surprise one tribe or other when at the weakest. They had so served him when he had been defeated by other tribes from the interior—and when he lay with his few remaining people and cattle in his houses, wounded and helpless, or was scattered in flight, and concealed here and there, then it was that they carried off his cattle, but also cruelly murdered all who could not offer resistance, even women and children.

Commentary, No. 1.

This was, of course, an aggression by one horde of barbarians on another, until at last the Cochoquas were pushed close upon the promontory of the Cape, as the Zoolas pushed on the Mantatees, and they almost forced the Kaffers into the colony, only a few years ago.

This happened shortly before our arrival at the Cape, and he never could forget it; when he was again in strength and well he would have paid them off, had he not believed that, as we were residing on their land, we were in close alliance with them—he hoped to live there with us in friendship, in place of those wicked creatures—and to trade with the Dutch.

Commentary No. 2.

Poor Oedasea little thought that the Dutch would live on other people's land, except in friendship with them, without their permission; their bad example

seems to have taught him the disposition to do likewise. The Kaffers. 1659, June.

He had collected some rhinoceros' horns for us, and caught a young horse, but it had died from rather too deep an assagai wound. Now that the wound he had himself received in the elbow from a lion was healed, he would catch more young horses for us; that wound had forced him to keep the house like a woman; as to elephants' tusks he would, after speaking further with us on the subject, do his best, and send some people into the interior for the purpose. We replied that if OEDASEA, their lord, wished to come to the fort, a wagon would be sent for him, and proper accommodations be prepared for his reception. (Would OEDASEA have condescended to travel in a wagon? When General JANSSENS, 136 years after, sent a wagon and escort to meet GAIKA on the banks of the Great Fish River, GAIKA placed his mother and wives in the wagon, and himself came to his excellency's camp at a gallop on an ox.) We proposed to the ambassadors that, if they would, en passant, show the Caepmans' camp, we would send with them some soldiers to attack them, as a proof that we were in earnest; they replied that they had no orders to do that.

This is quite characteristic of the present Kaffers; for, even when at war, they appear to consider it dishonorable to attack people by surprise, or without announcing their intention. Commentary No. 3.

But that OEDASEA on hearing this report, would easily give us much information and guides, that his old and our new enemies might be totally ruined; they recommended us to take precautions against any further inquiry, to have a little patience, and not to be in too great a haste to take the field against them; when they saw ANTHONY's great assagai, and other assagais that we had taken in various rencontres, they said that they had now proof enough, and they leapt,

The Kaffers. 1659, June.

apparently, for joy, on seeing it. They added, that Oedasea was grieved to the heart on hearing that these rogues had carried off the cattle which he had so kindly sold to us, but that we must have patience, and harden our hearts against them, as his heart was hardened, for that it would never relent towards those Caepmans, but remain like iron. That they knew well Oedasea had some design in his mind, that he would soon disclose it to us, that through his friendship and alliance, we should have full satisfaction, quiet trade, and as peaceable a life as could be desired, for that these rogues would be quickly disposed of.

Commentary No. 4.

If these really belong to the same race of men as those we now call Kaffers, the Kaffers of those days appear to have estimated as justly the blessings of peace, as they did in the days of General Janssens, and as they profess now to estimate them, but (dressed as they are,) even in those days, when people paid but little attention to domestic manners and institutions, the Dutch could hardly have failed to observe, or record that the rite of circumcision prevailed amongst them. Or may that rite be of subsequent introduction, through intercourse with Mohammedans? Now they have adopted a usage in the matter of circumcision, which does not belong to either orthodox Mohammedans or to the Malays. The habit of using the juice of a kind of hemp, may also have been adopted for the purposes of intoxication, or as a medicine, through their intercourse with Mohammedans,—for that, from the north, by land, or on both coasts by sea, (the Imam of Museat, now living mostly at Zanzibar,) who can doubt the intercourse of the people of Africa with that widely-spread family of men?

Oedasea's messengers asked for a private conference with the governor—they were received, and thus began:—We are instructed to propose to the

Dutch commander never more to treat with the Caepmans, or the tobacco thieves, for peace. We assure you from the mouth of Oedasea, that he has no other intention than to help to destroy the Caepmans entirely, which they have fully earned from both sides. They also said that whenever any Dutch people had visited them in the interior with Caepmans for their guides, the latter had asked Oedasea to deliver the Dutch, and in particular the late Ensign Homarden, into their hands; he told them they were rogues, and that he wished them to carry the Dutch home in safety. The Caepmans, they said, were particularly mortified that our presents were sent to Oedasea by wagon, that they and their adherents would fain prevent a war, but that if we were resolved never to make peace with them, but with his concurrence, then a snare might be laid for them, so that not a single individual should escape. We told them that it was not compulsory upon us to ruin the Caepmans, for that, otherwise, our God of the heavens, (of whom these robbers neither knew nor desired to know any thing, whom Eva had been taught to know,) would punish us, because those rogues had murderously shed the blood of his people, while blood cried for vengeance. They said, that is the word which Oedasea expected from the commander, that he also desired them to say that the natives far inland had heard so much of the goodness of the Dutch, that they were anxious to come near and see them, but that the Caepmans had always kept them away. Now, they added, Oedasea would come here with his camp and take the place of the Caepmans, and probably himself visit the commander, to enjoy the kind treatment of the Dutch, living like brothers of one heart and soul. They wished to be dismissed now that every thing was settled, and to carry with them a wagon and as many people as the

The Kaffers. 1659, June.

The Kaffers. 1659, June.

commander chose to send; so that through an interchange of embassies, matters might be arranged for attacking the Caepmans, either unitedly or from separate quarters. Resolved, therefore, to send a serjeant with 13 of the best soldiers and a wagon, that they might the better defend themselves, and convey the presents to Oedasea with becoming dignity. The chief of the Coehoquas, or true Saldanhas, is now encamped with many thousand men, about N. E. from this, straight across the bay, beyond the wreck of the *Haarlem*, and half a day's journey off. The party set off accordingly with Oedasea's ambassadors and Eva.

They returned, accompanied by six commissioners from Oedasea—among them his sister's son and the interpreter Eva—the presents were well received, and the party met at a good distance from the camp by some people; at their interview Cedasea struck his hand on his breast, as if to catch at his heart, and desired them to say—it is impossible to pluck this heart of flesh out of my bosom, but were it possible I would send it to the commander; let him take to him, however, the soul which it contains, that it may be united with his own, so that they may no more be parted, and say to him that I intend soon to visit him, that our hearts may be welded together like two pieces of iron, and so hardened that no power in the world can break or cleave them asunder. (Not so bad, all this, from a South African chief to a Dutch serjeant.) He was rejoiced, he said, that we now perceived that the Gorinhaiquas and Gorachoquas were rogues and banditti; such it was his particular province to punish; that, after consulting with his council, composed of some of the oldest of his people, and with the commander, face to face, he would inform the commander how they were to be caught. To a question from the serjeant, Oedasea, who is a man of

few words, and of very quiet civil manners, replied very briefly:—That is good, but the commander need not be so hasty, but exert a little patience; when I come to him, I will tell him all, and give him such good advice, that he will be satisfied that a little delay will cause no loss, but will produce the greater advantage and victory over the robbers. Upon this he very civilly dismissed our people, presenting them with two sheep for food; those who came with them had only sticks in their hands, as proof that he entrusted them entirely to our protection. He was very thin from the lion wound; his doctors had done him no good, and he hoped for better assistance from ours; ever since his wound, he said, there had been great mortality among his cattle, and he excused himself for not sending any. His wife, Eva's sister, was not very well either; at the first meeting Eva and she could not speak to each other for joy, and thus Eva could not interpret, but lay with her arm over her sister's shoulder—a proof of her affection. Eva confirmed the report of our party, and stated that as soon as our men arrived, Oedasea sent out all his people and women, calling in only his council, or the elders of his people, and said to them: Although I am wise enough to attend to the duties of my station, and to govern my people—still it is your province to assist me with word and deed, being old men who have lived long in the world, and had much experience of the course of events, and whose place it therefore is to convey to me your opinion upon every emergency, and in particular now;—You will, therefore, lay before me your opinion as to what measures are now called for by my interests and those of our people.—Whereupon, says Eva, who was all the time present, the oldest, after a little consideration, and consultation with the others, answered,

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—Oh, king! (koninghen) we perceive that at this moment great fortune hangs over thy head,—for, whereas thou, and under, or next to thee, Ngonoma, are the mightiest of all the land—for such is the number of thy warriors that all must retire whenever they think that thou dost approach! Besides, thou art of a kinder disposition than Ngonoma, and more beloved and feared than him. When it is heard that thou hast entered into an alliance with the Dutch people, the whole world will esteem thee the most fortunate Lord (Heere) of the whole land, and from all sides they will press to secure thy friendship, on account of the enjoyment of the merchandize of the Dutch, which those alone can have in their hands, and in thy power—an advantage not to be understood by the Gorachoquas or Gorinhaiquas, in consequence of their predatory disposition,—still less could they avail themselves thereof. Be thou, therefore, prudent, and come to a good understanding with the Dutch, and continue in the same, otherwise there would instantly be another, who (on perceiving the slightest coolness between thee and the Dutch) would forthwith endeavour to acquire a greater hold upon their confidence, in order to work thee out of their favor, as thy enemies are now thrown out, who have made enemies of such a clever people, from whom so much of profit and enjoyment is to be had, independently of that respect for their power, which has deterred even thee, during all the time since those people have begun to establish themselves here, from even thinking of attacking these robbers, the most inconsiderable of thine enemies, lest the Dutch be offended thereat, as these robbers have always persuaded them would be the case. It may, therefore, easily be imagined in what respect thou wilt be held by the Dutch, seeing that thou alone art a hundred times

stronger than those robbers; who, when compared with thee, are but a handful against a landful. The Kaffers. 1659, June.

These are the very words, said Eva, in substance, spoke by the elder to Oedasea, on which he answered that he looked on the matter in the same light, and intended to turn it to his advantage. Eva further states, that Oedasea told her that some of the cattle first stolen from us by the Caepmans, had by them been offered to him, together with some brass and tobaeco, and that they said, here are your cattle, aecept them again, and let us settle our old differences; on which he answered,—No; I should thus be a rogue towards others, if I should reeeive from the hands of robbers, that which I have onee sold; whenever I am so disposed I can easily send and fetch them; leave me therefore with your stolen goods. Oedasea added, that he was from the first desirous of announcing this to the commander, but that his people were prevented from reaching by the late wet, cold, and stormy weather.

I have thought it best to enter Oedasea's address to his counsellors, and their reply, through the mouth of the elder, in the words of Mr. Moodie, as it is just such a record as we have constantly seen in later times, of the proceedings of the Kaffer courts in communication with our own governors, and with General Janssens, whenever the balance of power between the members of a confederation has been disturbed by the presence of a foreign people too powerful for them to assail, and who have generally afforded aid, protection, or asylum to the weaker members of the confederacy—as in this ease to the Caepmans and Gorachoquas,—and in the Dutch and in our own case, to the rebel and fugitive members of Gaika's family; thus, of course, unhinging the relations in which all must have stood towards one another, and which might have continued for ages, but for the presence Commentary No. 5.

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and power of the foreigners; and what has the foreigner done to prevent the breaking up of the native tribes and confederations?—nothing I fear, it must be answered—or rather they have perhaps, unintentionally, encouraged it; that they might conquer the more readily by dividing. The assertion of our supremacy, and the negotiation of defensive treaties with the heads or chiefs of tribes and confederations, will, however, very soon stay the evil.

Oedasea's six people departed, accompanied by Eva, with presents, but, however much urged, they would not allow any of our people to accompany them, as he had forbidden it, lest they should be tired by frequent journies. Eva was at his desire allowed to go and come as she chose. Our party found Oedasea very unwell; he said that he hoped to come within three days, and that if he continued so sick he would ask for a wagon. Ngonoma had joined him, and was the first to meet our party on the way, and received them with thankfulness; he accompanied them to Oedasea, with whom he spoke, and from whom he procured one or two small flags, in order that his people might be known to be friends when they came to the fort with cattle. The Caepmans had stolen 21 of his cattle, which was likely to increase the enmity between them to our advantage, as we hope. Ngonoma intended visiting the commander, and intelligence was brought that Oedasea was coming, so that the fiscal was to go to meet him if the weather should be fine; the fiscal was also to carry presents to Ngonoma, who must be first passed, and might be offended if his authority were not acknowledged.

July.

The fiscal returned from Oedasea, whom he found very unwell, and on that account, as well as on account of the illness of a child, of whom he appeared to be very fond, unprepared to visit us. He said,

he wanted no wagon to convey him, as he could not bear even the jolting of an ox, but that on his recovery, and the recovery of his child, he would come on slowly. He would not consent to send a few guides to show the way to the plunderers' camp; and as our people in returning met three Hottentots near Oedasea's kraal going there with an ox, which they strongly suspected to be one of our working oxen, some misgivings were excited amongst us, but we are well prepared against Oedasea, as well as against the plunderers. Oedasea's people, who left the fort with good presents, on their way home were very insolent at the fisherman's hut, at the Salt River, to his wife; she seized a gun and held it in their faces, when they went away, using very contemptuous and shameful gestures and threats, so that we know not who are friends and who are enemies; their coming and returning unarmed whilst the plunderers show themselves in greater number, and the fiscals finding so few people in Oedasea's and Ngonoma's encampments are also suspicious circumstances; forty of them came to the fort bringing only eight sheep; and of these only five or six went straight home with the flag, seven of them hid themselves in the Bosheme, and the remainder went towards Hout Bay and along the sea-shore, apparently to form a junction with the plunderers; it may therefore be presumed that all our enemies lurk in the Cape mountains, that the Saldanhas are come to speak with them, and that, consequently, they are all false rogues together. When dispatching the ship *Orangie*, thank God! the *Slot van Hongengen* arrived with 341 men and 1 boy; Eva, with 50 of Oedasea's people, arrived, bringing the ox which our people had seen going to his camp. They said that they found it on the road tired with over-driving; he wished for a fathom of tobacco to

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give to the finder. He hardly knew what to do for shame in not having come himself, since we had sent a wagon with presents to him, but said that he was restrained through the wound in his arm, the illness of his youngest child, and the death of his wife's mother, for whom he was still mourning. Amongst Oedasea's people were five who were to speak with the commander himself, and one of the elders charged with a secret message, the purport of which was unknown to Eva herself. She said that Ngonoma wished to come, but that Oedasea stayed him; when he came himself all the chiefs and great men of the Cochoquas' camps—and who knew the number of them!—would accompany him. She said that when he had shown us where the Caepmans were, he would remove with all his camp, adding, with a half-suppressed sigh, that then she should never see the Dutch again. Oedasea, she said, did not know what ailed the country, for that great numbers of cattle and people daily died, and this was the reason why he did not send us more cattle; this was the reason for his wishing to decamp and seek better pasture in the interior. The commander invited Oedasea's six counsellors, one of whom was his son, to a further conference. The only thing they had to say was that their master could hardly believe that we had any serious intentions against the Caepmans, and that, therefore, they had come to hear it more exactly. We replied, that we were not of the same race with the Caepmans, and therefore that insincerity might rather be presumed against him by us, than against us by him, asserting at the same time that we did not entertain the slightest suspicion; we do suspect, however, that they are daily conserting in what manner they may best ruin the company's establishment here. They said that Oedasea warned us to be well on our guard, for the Caepmans boasted

that they would not only carry off all the cattle soon, but also murder the farmers, with their wives and children, including those at the fishermen's hut, and the redoubt Duynhoop, explaining how they meant to set about it, in order, at last, to surprise the fort, whose walls they had courage enough to climb over; once in it, they would break open all the houses, and knock the people on the head. They had, they said, heard from ANTHONY, that he had long since, with this object, examined the situation of the Dutch, and that he lay near, ready to commence the attack with the Gorachoquas, Goringhaiquas, Onkengsoa, and all the strandloopers and vagabonds he could scrape together. The Kaffers. 1659, July.

How (VAN RIEBEECK observes) should the Cochoquas, or true Saldanhas, know all this unless they were in daily communication with the others?

OEDASOA recommended us to be on our guard, for that he intended to remove with his cattle to other pasture, as amongst them there was great mortality, and that he would not be back soon; he wished for a quantity of tobacco, beads, and other articles, that would last for a considerable time.

Mr. MOODIE observes in a note here, that VAN RIEBEECK's Journals are, in many cases, not to be found on record in the colony, but that the despatches of the Cape government, addressed to Batavia, are complete down to 1786, whilst the journals, for several years, are wanting, and that a comparison of the tenor of the despatches, with that of the extant journals, will therefore be useful, and will convey some idea of the contents of the journals, which are not to be found in the colony; and that the comparison will be more particularly useful, because there are periods when entire harmony appears to have subsisted, as far as was known to the government, between the colo- Commentary No. 6.

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nists and the natives, and where the annals of the colony present little or nothing for extract, beyond the negative evidence which proves such to have been the case. On this, I would observe, that it does not appear to have occurred to Mr. Moodie that van Riebeeck may, in very shame, have suppressed some portions of his journal, whilst the despatches were the official reports of government, and could not be so treated.

In a report to the Governor-General and Council at Batavia, the governor and council say, (July 7th,) after various missions had been exchanged with us, we saw cause daily to place less reliance on Oedasoa; and even supposing that all turned out well, and that some good agreement were concluded with him, we still observed that there are, among his people also, shameless beggars, who, when unable to procure what they want from our people by importunity, endeavour to take it by force when they find them alone, or unable to offer any resistance.

Commentary No. 7.

Van Riebeeck appears here to have had a slight foresight of the difficulty which was likely to arise in his intercourse with this new race of men, through the want of control, on the part of the chiefs of such a loose feudalism over the inferior members or people of the confederacy; and which would inevitably have been the same as that which he experienced in his intercourse with the Caepmans, and the Gorachoquas, his tobacco thieves. The difficulties which we experienced in 1819, in our dealings with the Amakosa tribe of Kaffers, in our negotiations with Gaika, and that tribe, when we received from him the ceded or neutral territory, and in return engaged, and endeavoured to raise him to a supremacy, which did not belong to him, over them, are only a repetition of the same thing; and if we are not very careful that our defensive treaties are only negotiated with the heads of

tribes, and that we require from the inferior feudal chiefs, and the people, only the performance of those duties and obligations which they have been accustomed to perform,—we shall inevitably have a recurrence of the same difficulties soon. The Kaffers. 1659, July.

Nothing would induce Oedasoa's mission to grant us guides, for the purpose of showing, in order that we might attack the Caepmans' camp.* They said Oedasoa was astonished that we constantly pressed for guides—imagining that, if we were in earnest, we could have no difficulty in finding them ourselves, and that, therefore, he suspected us of trying to make peace with them again. They advised us not to consider any people coming without a flag, even bringing cattle, as friends—and that Oedasoa advised us to send no more wagons into the interior, as the Caepmans were lying in wait for our people everywhere, though they dared not attempt any thing while he had been in communication with us—yet that when he moved they would attack us in much greater force than before." On receiving presents the mission departed—Eva saying:—"Mynheer Van Riebeeck, take good care; I shall not return for a long time; your land will be very full of war." Our suspicions are increased by the fact that Oedasoa's *secunde*, Ngonoma, is the same person whom we called Swarte Captein, and who, in 1653, was with us at the fort the evening before Harry stole the Company's cattle. Should we find ourselves attacked in greater force, we shall suspect that it is a combined operation on account of our brass, tobacco, beads, and other articles. It seems that there is every appearance of war. May the Almighty bless the

* Probably Oedasoa considered that it would be dishonorable to aid the Dutch in their attack on the Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans. The Kaffers of the present day would certainly consider this dishonorable.

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company with His support and help to preserve our handful of people against this landful of savages. Oedasoa's and Ngonoma's people brought 5 sheep, which they sold, but had nothing to say; a little torture applied to our guide and he confessed that Oedasoa and Ngonoma had decamped, and that he had made an agreement with our enemies to help to protect them, and that they must now be together, for he had agreed to let them go as far inland as they choose; but they might hide themselves from us—from which it would seem that Oedasoa has misled and delayed us until the Caepmans should effectually conceal themselves; thus no more reliance is to be placed on the one than on the other. We must attend to Eva's last parting advice, and take good care of what we have left. A man who was wounded and taken said, that Oedasoa had given the Caepmans, Ankisoa, and the Gorachoquas, a place to retreat to at Saldanha Bay, and that he and Ngonoma had crossed the country, and passed the Berg River, about 15 hours' journey distant.

August—September.

A signal was made from the guard house Kyck Uyt, that they saw Hottentoos—on which the mounted guard and fishermen turned out—but it proved to be Oedasoa's people and the interpreter Eva, with 7 or 8 sheep, and they came to the fort like good friends. She presented her brother-in-law's compliments, and said that she was directed by him to tell us that the Caepmans had asked for her, so that they might employ her to ask us for peace; Oedasoa has undertaken to inform us through her that they would restore one-half of the cattle and sheep that had been taken—the rest having been consumed. We thought that they ought to give twice the number that had been taken. She said that Oedasoa was inclined to think that they should give an equal number, which he

begged us to accept; and which he, on their continued entreaty, had promised to give as mediator; Eva afterwards said that the Caepmans were very angry with Anthony, blaming him for all their disasters, the loss of eight of their best and bravest, and the severe wounding of three, including Anthony himself. The Gorachoquas had also lost two, and blamed Anthony, who was in disgrace with them; after committing some acts of hostility they had parted from the Caepmans; there was much disunion among them, and no less weeping and wailing among the women. Anthony had humbled himself to Oedasoa, and he had sent her to request, as a favor, that we would pardon, and renew our former friendship with them. Because of their proceedings towards the Dutch, they found their imaginations haunted by enemies, and could never lie down to rest without fancying that they heard the Dutch shooting in every direction. Eva said that Oedasoa told them that they ought to return twice as much as they had taken—but that the commander must forgive the poor cowards this time, and that he would do his best to content us, and to get us back all the stolen cattle. She was told that if they brought them all back, we would speak of peace, not on their account, but because of Oedasoa's request, and that some of their chief men might accompany her to the fort. With this reply she and her companions set out, with presents for themselves, and carrying some for Oedasoa and his wife. In passing the redoubt Duynhoop, they took from the black wife of a free man, who was then alone, a pair of tongs and an axe, and beat her; she called, she says, to Eva, who would not come, but slapped her hand on her thigh, and passed on. Mr. Moodie says, she was an East Indian slave, married to a free man, and that the slaves were always before marriage emancipated.

The Kaffers. 1659,

Whether this may not have been the reason why this woman was a second time treated with indignity by the Cochoquas?

October—November.

The free men's boat returned from Saldanha Bay, where they heard from the strandloopers that the Cochoquas had retired into the interior. The fiscal was sent there to examine the bay, as the English appear to have occupied St. Helena for themselves. The *Penguin* came from Saldanha Bay with 29 sheep, bartered from Oedasoa's people. The company's vessel was to follow, bringing Eva, who wished to speak with the commander. Oedasoa was lying in Saldanha Bay with 16,000 of his Saldanhas. Eva said that she came at her own choice, and with the consent of her brother-in-law Oedasoa,—she said that he had desired the Caepmans to show the stolen cattle, but that they had not shown him the quarter part of them; he had, however, given them his flag, desired them to send their commander to the fort; to offer to restore the stolen cattle, and promise to behave better in future; as he was about to remove farther into the interior, and would not have them with him, which they had earnestly entreated. He told them to try to make peace with the Dutch before they were surprised by them, so that they may stay at Saldanha Bay with the Charigurequas; for that the great Charigurequas and the Gorachoquas had gone far into the interior in search of fresh pasture, as Ngonoma had done, and he would soon decamp himself. Eva was of opinion that Harry, who is on good terms with the Chonouquas, will come to the fort with many of their cattle to bring himself into good terms again.

1660, January—February.

Ngonoma, the other chief of the Cochoquas, called by us the Swarte Kaptein, had separated from Oedasoa, and joined the Gorachoquas, our tobacco thieves. It may therefore happen that these two large tribes

will not be disposed to let us live in quiet; but as we have now got horses, and they are very rich in cattle, we can indemnify ourselves much better upon them than upon those indigent Caepmans and Watermans. The Kaffers. 1660, January—February. March.

During our troubles in the Hottentoo war, the Cape government report to the Chamber; Eva, who alone had staid with us in the fort, said that none of the Cochoquas were concerned in the war, that it was urged contrary to Oedasoa's wish, and that he would seize an opportunity to enter into a closer and more intimate alliance with us. He said he would send his people who would be known by the sheep they would bring. This was followed by an interchange of missions; but the more we desired to come to a good and certain treaty, the more distinctly we saw that it was nothing but outward seeming and hypocrisy. We were told to sit still and take good care of our cattle, that they would soon destroy our enemies, restore to us our cattle, and supply us with as many as we required. To our application for guides, we were told by Oedasoa that he would soon supply us with some of his bravest warriors, when we would attack in conjunction; not to be in a hurry; and that he would let us know when a favorable opportunity offered itself; when from this came nothing but wind, and we insisted on having only one or two guides, then the deception came to light, and he informed us, through Eva, that he must trek into the interior, that we must manage our own affairs—kill, make slaves of, or banish those we caught, for that he gave us authority over those who should rob us, were they even his own people. We learnt from the Hottentoo prisoners, and from Harry, that Oedasoa took the Caepmans under his government; then, hearing of our success against them, he very adroitly took them under his protection; and, as if upon their entreaty,

The Kaffers. 1660, March. he assumed the capacity of mediator, in order to treat for peace. Now, he is not desirous that we should make too firm a peace with the Caepmans, telling us, through Eva, that they do not mean sincerely, and that we must make only a feigned peace with them. He says, that above all, we must never be estranged from him, apprehensive that he may be supplanted by them; yet not wishing that they should be received by us. We have, therefore, come to the conclusion, that the one tribe as well as the other must be narrowly watched, and that this is not to be done with less than 120 men; for it is not impossible that this Oedasoa may secretly assist the Caepmans, and when they shall have somewhat prepared the way, he may chime in, and join our enemies, in an endeavour to expel us from the Cape; which Anthony has often enough pretended to be practicable. It is also a sad truth that treachery sometimes lurks among our own people, as has been experienced in this year of tribulation—for some traitors, company's servants, as well as servants of the free men, planned a most unheard of massacre and destruction of this place.

April. Three commissioners from Thoso, the chief of the Gorachoquas, said, that his brother, Gekerigh, was now living about 3 days' journey off with Ngonoma, *secunde* to Oedasoa.

May. Some of Oedasoa's people came to the fort with 9 sheep, which were bought for brass, beads, and tobacco; the chief message was to ask for tobacco for the chief, in return for a fat wether, which he sent as a present to the commander, and to preserve friendship; a lb. of tobacco, 6 pipes, and some beads were given in return, and the 30 or 40 people were well entertained with food and drink. The front hall had a wooden floor, and they were not allowed to smoke or light a fire there; the night was cold, and from

their slight covering they could not do without fire—so they went to sleep at the Waterman's huts. They went away with presents for their chief and for themselves, promising to bring abundance of cattle—on which account they were the more royally entertained for three days, with food, drink, and tobacco, which is somewhat expensive to the company—but that would be of less importance if we could only get cattle enough according to the promises of the natives. The Kaffers. 1660, May.

Ten of Oedasoa's people came to the fort with 1 cow and 8 sheep, which were purchased with beads, tobacco, and pipes; they did not ask for brass, but for a good meal. The sudden departure of Harry, Anthony, and all the Hottentoots, has led to the suspicion that some consultation is going on among them; for the Gorinhaiquas, who had come quite close to us, removed after the departure of the *Phœnix* and *Nagelboom*, and live close to Oedasoa. The Gorachoquas have united with Gonomoa, (before written Ngonoma) the 2nd chief of the Cochoquas. Eva insists on accompanying these few people to Oedasoa —on a visit to her sister. Whether this sister visiting is merely to get away, or whether there is any scheme in agitation, it is difficult to guess. Orders were therefore given to keep strict watch in every quarter. June.

About 40 of Oedasoa's people came, with 9 cattle and 16 sheep, which were purchased; we had, as usual, to find them with bread, brandy and arraek, which much enhances the price of the cattle. The Cochoquas reported the death of Oedasoa's wife, Eva's sister, which caused great grief to Eva, who now lives in the commander's house. Some Chinouquas and Cochouquas came to the fort, conducted by the chief Goringhaiquas, with a good number of cattle and sheep, which were purchased for brass and July—August.

The Kaffers. 1660, August.

tobacco—besides an entertainment before and after the trading, and some presents to the chief people;—of the cattle purchased, 36 were from the Chainouquas, 14 and 48 sheep from the Cochoquas—35 of the cattle were lean old cows chiefly, 5 old, 8 young oxen, and 2 sucking calves. In spite of the foul weather some of the Chainouquas came to the fort with 21 head of cattle, all of which were bought, at so cheap a rate, for beads and tobacco, that each animal did not cost above 1 skilling. This tribe seem to be very desirous of beads, and these cost the company very little. Like the Cochoquas, our nearer neighbours, they care very little for brass. The sheep of the Cochoquas cost a half, and their cattle 2 Rds., arising from the value of brass; yet their cattle are eagerly purchased, if they will but fetch them. Eva says that Oedasoa sends the Cochoquas cattle, out of jealousy of the Chainouquas—but we should fancy that he is not so rich as they are—which is the truth, for the Chainouquas are far richer in both men and cattle; and yet the Cochoquas are supposed to be fully 17 or 18,000 in number, consisting of several hordes (troppen), and always divided into two great camps, under Oedasoa, and his 2nd, Ngonoma.—The success of this trade so much talked of by the Goringhaiquas and Goraehouquas, we shall see in time, if the Lord is pleased to send his blessing.

September.

Rainy weather,—yet 28 of the Chainouquas came to the fort with 77 cattle and 18 sheep, 74 cows and 6 sheep were purchased for beads, and 3 cows and 12 sheep for brass, tobacco, and pipes; besides the usual entertainment of bread and brandy; yet, including every thing, each cow did not stand us in more than 7 or 8 stivers; the sheep, being chiefly purchased with brass, were almost twice as dear. These people had the day before met our free hunters

behind the Leopard's Berg; they wished to go to the Gorinhaiquas' eamp, but the free men led them straight to the fort, knowing that they would have there been indueed to exchange their best eattle for old and lean animals. Having fire-arms, it was arranged, that our men would proteet them on their homeward journey, as if against wild animals—our objeet being to keep these natives from the Goringhaiquas, and to attach them to ourselves, so as to prevent this exehange of eattle. The Kaffers. 1660, September.

More sowing of dissensions among the native tribes, Mr. Governor, by thus depriving the one tribe of its legitimate rights, and leading the other to join in your iniquitous proceeding, solely to save your own brass and tobaeco. Commentary No. 8.

The free men were rewarded for this service, and promised 25 stivers daily, when they should be so employed. Some of the same people brought to the fort 8 eattle and 2 sheep, which were purchased; 24 more cattle bartered from the Chainouquas. In eonsequence of this trade, two more good men, who had been free for three years, entered into partnership in farming, receiving 30 morgen of land at Bosehheuvel, on the same eondition as others. Four free men went out with the Chainouquas, for the purpose noticed on the 5th of May, (*i. e.*, to get a good many eattle, aceording to the prospects held out by Eva.) The Almighty be their eonduetor! They returned to the fort, after an absenee of 10 days in the interior, with some of the Chainouquas—after a journey of 5 days they reached the king of that tribe, (choeque, whieh means king); they were well received and lodged by him and his people, and entertained with milk and mutton. His name is Sousa, and he lies with all his dependant hordes, whom he has colleeted about him, four days journey from the fort, there he means to

The Kaffers. 1660, September.

stay a good while, and to form a closer acquaintance, and to trade with us. This is quite contrary to the conduct of the Saldanhas and Gorainhaiquas who lie hereabouts, and always endeavour to keep the inhabitants of the interior away.

Commentary No. 9.

Again, open thy eyes, oh thou blind and incompetent governor, and know that the Cape country belongs to the Goringhaiquas; and that those whom you call Saldanhas, are either sharers in that property, or allied with them to prevent your encroachment, or the encroachment of those whom you would bring on their domain.

This is, however, only done to keep us in ignorance, —they conducting the other tribes as if, but for their sufferance, and in their company, more were allowed to approach us. This may be true enough, for they try to persuade the other tribes that this is the case, thus perverting our good and upright intentions, while they enrich themselves with cattle; exchanging their brass and beads with the Chainouquas and Saldanhas for their cattle; so that they have now neither brass nor bead necklaces, bracelets, or earrings left for themselves. Of the cattle thus obtained they bring for sale to us only their old and worn out stock. With this we still put up, hoping that in due time all the inland tribes will become more habituated to the Netherlanders, and satisfied of our upright intentions, that it is our wish to live on friendly terms with each and all of them without distinction. We now see other tribes coming to us, and therefore it is not necessary to espouse the side of any party, but proper that we should treat all as good friends, taking good care the while, that the Gouringhaiquas and Gorachoquas, who last year made war upon the company, do not prevent the trade, for we constantly find that, for the purposes of trade, all the inland tribes who have ever

been visited by our people, have treated them with every kindness, endeavouring to get into a more intimate aequaintance with us. The Kaffers. 1660, September.

Again open your eyes, Mr. VAN RIEBEECK, and see the differenee between those people receiving your people well, and trading with them on their own lands, and their joining in your view of the question, and coming within the lands of another tribe to trade with you or your people, contrary to the inclination of the other tribe, and uniting with you to deprive the other tribe of their established perquisites on barter or sale transaetions; their cattle being pastured the while on the lands of the other tribe, you will then understand that the interior tribe entertain a juster view of the rights and privileges of their countrymen than you do. If you lived in the present day, you would discover that your countrymen, the Dutch boers, can not, aecording to Kaffer usage, pasture their cattle on Kaffer lands until the established pasturage-fee has been paid. Commentary No. 10.

SOUSA, who is the real choeque, or king of the Chainouquas sent an ox, requesting in return some red beads, as a token that we desired a eloser alliance with him. His people told him more of our customs than he could readily believe; he is very anxious to witness those customs with his own eyes, but is too old to come to the fort; many of his people, with their wives and children, came fully a day's journey to see our four men; they had never seen any other people than those of their own nation, and hardly knew how to make enough of our people. The two men who eame with our men said that they had never seen ships before. Aeording to the interpretation of ANTHONY and DOUKEMA, which was put into better Dutch by EVA; SOUSA, being very old, and having only one son, had entrusted to him the government of his kingdom;

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causing him to be acknowledged as king; receiving from all the great men in quality of successor all respect, which he always showed first to his father. The father reserving for himself, merely, during life, the highest title; this also appeared to the free men to be the case. To all appearance, as well as according to the interpreters, this chieftain is held in such awe, that neither OEDASOA, nor any of his subjects dared, so long as he remained so near to us, to come to trade; they must make way for him, and wait upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect which they owe to the neighbour and representative of the highest king—said to be the Honcumquas. He also resides in mat huts, but never migrates from place to place; his subjects breed cattle, but also subsist by the cultivation of the valuable plant dacha, which stupifies the brain like opium, ginger, strong tobacco, brandy, and such things; and of dacha these tribes are consequently very fond. The chief of the Honcumquas, as the two men tell us, always resides in numberless houses, very far in the interior, about half way betwixt the two seas, and he is the chief lord of all the Hottentoo race, of all kings and potentates; for Khoe means a high mountain, (Khoe, a hill in Persian,) rich, fortunate, a king; and Baka, the superlative, the highest of all, to whom all must show submission. Chonouquas, with whom our men have been, must therefore be the emperor of the Hottentoo race; being called Khoeque, which is properly king.

Mr. MOODIE says, that VAN RIEBEECK here gives a treatise upon the relative dignity of the titles of Homquas, Honque, and Khoesankuma; the proper titles of the smaller chiefs—such as the Gorachoquas, though they arrogate to themselves the title of Khoeque over the other tribes, and thus often get into war.

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It is said that Sousa, and his son Goeboe, will bring their camp within one or two days' journey, allowing the others to remain at a greater distance. Should this happen, it will be fortunate for the company, as more reliance may be placed on any treaty entered into with a person of his superior authority. The two domestics who accompanied our men returned, carrying presents. Eva, who has been taught good Dutch, and tolerable Portuguese, informing them of our wishes; they were much pleased when the commander said that he would acknowledge Sousa as his father, and Goeboe as his brother. The domestics are named Ooctis Koekoa, and Hanhunma, the one being chief steward of the cattle, the other of the sheep. Van Riebeeck describes the surprise of these people in being brought before a large mirror—adding, in this manner, we often have rare fun with strangers. The commander said, on their departure, that he hoped their master would live 1000 years, and have abundance of children and cattle; they had never been so near the coast before as to have seen ships, nor had they ever seen any other people than the Hottentoos of their country; it will, therefore, be necessary, as far as possible, to prevent their intercourse with the Gorinhaiquas, and for this purpose our people can accompany them with guns, by way of escort, while they are returning, and coming again to the fort with cattle. They declined the attendance, however, of some of our people who offered again to accompany them. May the Almighty grant that this strange people may produce something good for the company.

Commentary No. 11.

It says very little, Mr. Riebeeck, for your system of administration, and for the enterprise of your people, that you should have been living for eight years within four days journey of the principal tribe

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of the Chainouquas, without having before discovered, or held more intercourse with them ; but this arises, doubtless, more from your restrictive system, and attempt to monopolize all things, than from a want of speculation in your countrymen of those days ; for no sooner are the chains of your servants struck off, and they became free men, although not free traders, than they opened new channels of communication and of traffic with the native tribes on their own account.

Anthony and Eva stated that Oedasoa had sent a complimentary message to Soúsa, king or chief of the Chainouquas, and to his son, Goeboe, who, after keeping his messengers waiting three days, had consented to his trading with us for the present. Goeboe said, that when he came nearer he would speak on the subject with Oedasoa. The Charingariquas and Goraehoquas had also, they said, sent complimentary messages—and that the former, who were too cunning for all the Hottentoos, had managed to get employed as the escort of Sousa and his son. As for the Vissers, or Watermans, such poor, naked creatures dared not, they said, go any where—but must remain under the protection of the company, employed in fishing, washing, scouring, &c. From the favorable reception of Oedasoa by Sousa and his son, Eva thought it likely that we might probably see some of her people here, for she knew that tobacco had become indispensable to them. We said that instead of going to the interior, Oedasoa might go to the north side of Saldanha Bay, where we could trade with him by sea. This, she said, she would suggest, and that we might then trade with the Chainouquas here, and with the Saldanhas at Saldanha Bay. But it is now said that another people, called Hassequas, whose very name has never before been mentioned to us, now purpose to come here, to drive away all Sal-

danhas, Goringhaiquas, and even the Chainouquas, that they alone may occupy this field, and trade with the Dutch—a right which they arrogate to themselves as the strongest. Should she do so, something wonderful may be in the wind,—time will teach us the result. It is also said that the language of the Hassequas is so different from that of the Saldanhas, that they can only communicate through Chainouqua interpreters; and that they procure real dacha from the Hancumquas. Mr. Moodie says, that the Hassequas was one of the most numerous and friendly of the native tribes, that they will soon be found occupying a great extent of country to the westward of the present site of Swellendam, and that the mention of their name, for the first time, after eight and a half years' intercourse on the part of the Dutch with the natives, reduces to their just value the native romances of the more distants lords and emperors of the Namaquas and Chobonas. It at last appears, van Riebeeck proceeds, that as the more strange people hear more of us, the more they desire to trade directly, rather than through the medium of their intervening neighbours, therefore we advise the Chochouquas to go to Saldanha Bay, and the Goringhaiquas to go to Hout Bay, where the Perkyt can get at them. It is doubtful, however, whether the latter will again place themselves in the trap, for they now keep with their camp out of arms' length of us. They have managed too, to get into greater favor with the Chainouquas than Oedasoa; for the daughter of Gogosoa, their chief, or the sister of Osing Kinma, his daughter, (are these ladies then by different fathers?) is married to Goeboe, and this is another reason why the Goringhaiquas are so much in favor with Sousa and his son. Oedasoa seems to be somewhat haughty, or not sufficiently humble in his intercourse with the Chainouquas. The

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more distant tribes on hearing of the arrival, in this country, of a people with merchandize, have heretofore felt inclined to come, and as the still more distant tribes hear the same thing, they will hereafter feel the same inclination, rather than procure their wares indirectly, and thus the Hollanders will become known over the whole country, so that in the course of time the inhabitants of Monopotoma may send people here, who, comparing our kind treatment with the imperious domination of the Portuguese, may bring their gold and ivory to the Cape instead of conveying these things to Mozambique and Sofala, for they reside almost as near to the Cape as to Mozambique.

Commentary No. 12.

This, Mr. Van Riebeeck, is quite in the spirit of Dutch trade and monopoly; yet with all those golden and ivory dreams floating in your brain in 1660, as they sometimes float in our brains in 1844, you do not relinquish your wretched little scheme of entrapping the unfortunate Gorinhaiquas at Hout Bay.

This is a scheme which it will require some years to mature, but there appears some prospect, for the reasons above stated, of its realization. Two of Oedasoa's oldest counsellors, who came with the cattle barterers, desired, through Eva, to speak with the commander alone, and they were called into his office in presence of the ordinary council; they said that Oedasoa desired that the Chainouquas might not cause us to forget him, that he would not fail to trade with us as long as he was allowed,—for which purpose he had asked and obtained the consent of Sousa, to whom he would not otherwise have so far submitted. Sousa was, according to these elders, the more disposed to grant his consent, in the hope that Oedasoa would assist to oppose the threatened approach of the Hassequas. They thought that otherwise Sousa would not have listened to this request,

since he had no good will to Oedasoa, who had once on a day, when his son, Goeboe, was rather weak in men, carried off the son's wife, the lately deceased wife of Oedasoa, and sister of Eva. Thus, observes Van Riebeeck, our interpretess is, or was, sister-in-law to these two great lords; at least so she would persuade us, and others confirm her story. Oedasoa was answered that he need not fear, for that we are not disposed to part with the friendship of any one, but to cling firmer and firmer in the favor of all who come to us; to satisfy him on this head, some presents were sent to him by the two elders, and a hint given to them as to Saldanha Bay. The Kaffers. 1660, September.

You are evidently not yet sufficiently advanced in power, or established in authority over the native tribes, Mr. Governor, to dictate to them whence they should come, or whither they should go. You have not even yet so established your supremacy in South Africa, as to entitle you to expect that you should be the mediator amongst them, even for good or for evil; and you will probably find that by pointing to Saldanha Bay, you will only lead the Chainouquas to turn their backs upon that place, as if it were a Robben Island, a Hout Bay, or a Batavia. Commentary No. 13.

They stated that Choso, the chief of the Goraeloquas, who had long been encamped with Gonomoa, had parted with him in anger, because the former had cunningly taken away the latter's wife, and that about this they would have gone to war but for Sousa, who, it appears, would have banished or degraded the party who was in the wrong. It seems, at all events, observes Van Riebeeck, that all parties are equally afraid of the authority of Sousa, and still more afraid of the Hassequas, who have also two chiefs, great lords; all this does not fail to awaken our curiosity and to give us daily more knowledge of the natives of

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this country. May the Almighty grant that from both quarters there may flow daily more prosperity (long horned cattle, and large tailed sheep?) to the company. Sousa, the chief or king of the Chainouquas, arrived at the fort, riding on the same large ox with his son's wife, (the daughter of Gogosoa?) when one of his people lent him his assistance to alight. They were led into the fort by one of the mounted guard. He brought 33 cattle of different ages, and 15 sheep; the former were bought for beads, the latter for brass, tobacco, and pipes, whilst good cheer was dealt out to Sousa and his people. He said that his people had told him that the commander wished to adopt himself for a father and his son for a brother, and that, therefore, he had come to visit his new son, to see what kind of man he was, and that, with this view, he would come nearer, which would enable them the more easily to interchange visits, and to trade; for which, observes Van Riebeeck, he seemed very eager. He was, therefore, entertained with fresh bread and cheese, and with sugar, served up in a pewter dish; and seated with the said greasy princess, his son's wife, on a mat in the commander's room, a favor which had never been permitted to any one before. He was also allowed to hear the harpsichord, clavecimbaal, all of which seemed very gratifying to him, and so did the beer and French and Spanish wines; of which, however, he did not take enough to intoxicate him. His attendants were being regaled the while in the front hall with biscuit and brandy, which set them singing and leaping, and led to a variety of strange aperies. Sousa and his wife's son were shown the houses, above and below; and being asked whether any other people in the country had such houses? they said yes, but rather differently constructed, and that the people live in one spot. Pointing to the ring on the com-

mander's finger, they said that the people in question had such gold. He showed by the point of his little finger the shining white stones they had among them. We then showed him real and false diamonds, rubies, and other coloured stones, with string pearls, but he said he had never seen any of the kind, except gold and white stones, like diamonds. He was well acquainted, he said, with the people called Cobona or Coboqua, and that he would endeavour to bring some of them hither, so that we might learn the truth from themselves. SOUSA further said, that a certain other strong tribe, also Hottentoos, was very jealous of his power; tried to do him injury; and that their jealousy, and endeavours to injure him, would now be increased on account of his connexion with us. He asked whether, if attacked, we would assist him with soldiers against his enemy? We answered him in the affirmative, provided that he could manage to supply us with a sufficiency of cattle, and that he would get the Chobonas to bring us their gold and precious stones; provided also that his enemies were none of our allies hereabouts, particularly the Cochoquas, with whose chief, OEDASOA, we had made peace. He said that his enemies were other people; and that, in making this request, he intended first to give proof of his disposition towards us; that the commander did not yet know what kind of man he was, but that time would disclose this. SOUSA said, that he meant to place his camp at Hottentoos' Holland, about 1½ day's journey distant, so that we could converse together every day, whilst the rest of the people were left to move about, according to their custom, in flying camps. The Kaffers. 1660, September.

You seem now, Mr. VAN RIEBEECK, to have a fair field for the display of political sagacity, of which you made so much boast when soliciting the Chamber, Commentary No. 14.

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some years since, to transfer you to India, as affording a better field than South Africa; and if you will only conduct your negotiations with a native chief, as well as you describe your ceremonious interviews with him, there may be some hope. But at present there seems more reason for fear than for hope, since you immediately take a wrong turn, with the scent lying breast high, for you make it a condition with Sousa that, to gain your soldiers in aiding him in a defensive war, he shall obtain long-horned cattle, gold, and precious stones for you; never stopping to inquire whether right be on his side or theirs. The only right fling you make is in stipulating that those whom Sousa considers his enemies, must not be your allies. When Captain Ludlow and I were discussing at Joudpoor, with the late Maharaja Maun Singh, the sovereign of Marwar, the best mode of carrying out some question, in the right management of which we were all much, and equally concerned, he said—If, gentlemen, you wish to reach Ajmere, (our place of residence) you must take the Mairta road, and then, with only one step a day, you will arrive there at last; but if, wishing to reach Ajmere, you take the Nagore road, you will never get there at all, if you should go 100 miles a day. It may be questioned, however, whether the first Dutch governor of the Cape would ever get on the right road had it been possible to have found, in South Africa in 1660, such a friend and counsellor as Maharaja Maun Singh was to Captain Ludlow and myself in Rajpootana, in 1841.

October.

Some of Sousa's people came after him with 10 cattle, which were bought for beads—and 5 sheep, which were bought for brass, thus costing each as much as 3 cows, or 9 or 10 stivers; the chief expense is, however, the food and drink for the number of men which constantly come. Van Riebeeck

enters into a detail of the presents that were given to Sousa, his wife, and people, when he was about to depart—which, with his three day's entertainment, seemed to give him high satisfaction. He had his son's wife mounted on a white spotted ox, and, after passing the father's hut, himself mounted on a red ox—having, during the walk from the fort, talked much to Eva, and desired her to say that if the commander would but wait, he would find out that he was the man who would give him contentment; but that the goods which the Coehoquas got for their gold and jewels, must pass through his hands, so that they, as well as we, might acknowledge him as the main channel of the trade; and that he had already given all his people full permission to come and trade with us. The ox which his son's wife rode, had been sold to us, but was lent to him, at his request, for the conveyance of his luggage; he promised to send it back with more cattle on the first opportunity. After sermon 13 or 14 of the Chainouquas came with 27 fine cattle, of which 24 were bought for beads, and 3, with 6 sheep, for brass and tobacco; they had not seen their king, and said that more of their people would be here to-morrow with cattle, that they were already at Hottentoos' Holland, where they would always rendezvous until Sousa had established his fixed camp there. (It would not be very surprising to find the Africans reproaching the Christians for trafficking on Sunday, as some New Zealanders lately did.) This will be an annoyance to our neighbours, as that place was always their best pasture ground,—but since Sousa's arrival with these Goringhaiqua Saldanhas, not any one has dared to show himself; and the strandloopers, who always live hereabouts, never dared to come into his presence. It would, therefore, seem that this Sousa must be much respected; this

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appears also by the statements of Eva and Anthony; he has been completely supplanted in the favor of this new people by her, who has ingratiated herself much with them, without, at the same time, losing favor in Oedasoa's sight, but caring little about the Goringhaiquas or others, but appearing to be rather against them than otherwise; they hate her accordingly, and although they fear her on our account, she appears to be disliked on account of the information which she gives us about the country, regarding which the truth is daily coming to light. This is very vexatious to them, for it has been one of their principal maxims to keep us in the dark, and they have always denied that there were Cochoquas, Chainouquas, or other tribes in the interior, but alleged that they, the Goringhaiquas, were alone the true Saldanhas, and the most powerful—the falsehood of this appearing more fully every day, they now begin to creep into their shells; 31 cattle were bartered for beads, and 37 sheep for brass and tobacco, from the Chainouquas. Among the natives was Eva's uncle, Eyconqua, who brought us 2 cattle and 5 sheep for brandy; some merchandize was advanced to him on the credit of Eva's word, three weeks ago, that he might buy cattle in the interior for us, receiving here the current price, and thus, with his own profit and the original capital, become a thriving merchant. The wares remained in his hands, and it was explained to him how his capital would accumulate. This was our intention towards Harry, but he ruined himself by his bad faith, and is now a beggar. Eyconqua lives in one of the Chainouqua hordes, under Sousa, and can procure many cattle. Some goods were in the same manner advanced to his grandfather, Heestkama. Sousa came again, with his brother, bringing 1 ox, which he had borrowed eight days before, with

6 others and 2 sheep, whieh were bought, although the sheep were intended for a present, whieh Eva did not think fit to interpret, as he paid so little attention to what she had said as again to ask for presents; she expressed herself displeased with him, and ashamed that he should be so mean, saying, that she explained to him just what we said, but that she was often indueed from shame to keep baek what he and other Hottentoos said, and that now she had not dared to say anything as from him, exeept that, as he had now made the acquaintance of the eommander, he had eome to visit him out of civility, and that she knew the commander would give him meat and drink, and do him all honor, but that, for the rest, she knew the nature of the Duteh to be such—that they were liberal enough, and willing to make and to preserve the friendship of all men; and that they gave us presents out of liberality, as with the objeet of inviting all people to eome to them, to make an opening for commerce, partieularly in the artieles of gold and jewels, as being more valuable than eattle. The eommander hoped, she said, to hear that he had sent out people to feteh these things, and that he had eneouraged his people to bring ostrich feathers, ivory, antelope, and other skins—and that on his bringing gold and jewels, or any of the people of the eountry whence those artieles were proeured, greater presents would be given to him. After the usual Sunday-parade a volley was fired before Sousa, and it was explained to him that this was never done exeept to great lords, whieh we considered him to be; we treated him also with a tune on the violin and the harpsiehord and the like; and when he said that he eould show us gold and jewels, he was told that a small present would again be prepared for him. We understood that he would, on the present occasion,

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accept nothing further than good entertainment, and he said nothing more to Eva about presents, but expressed his surprise at the great quantity of brass, beads, &e. that were exhibited to him. He set off, notwithstanding the westerly wind, hail, and rain, carrying a good quantity of tobaeco, pipes, brandy, bread, and 8 lbs. of iron. He would have gone yesterday, but waited for the presents, and to witness our mode of worship, that we might speak to him on the subjeet, and on that of their creed, whieh being effected, he set off well satisfied. Two cattle and 8 sheep were brought by the Cochoquas and Chariguriquas, and two of Oedasoa's people urgently requested that a serjeant and some people might be sent with Eva to bring him to the fort, as he wished to speak upon affairs which eould not be confided to every one; he requested that a wagon might be sent, as from the wound in his arm he could not sit on an ox. The wagon, with 6 oxen, the serjeant, and eleven good soldiers, were aecordingly prepared, and set out with six days' provisions, attended by Eva and the two servants. May the Almighty be their guide there and baek.

November.

The serjeant returned with the king of the Saldanhas, Oedasoa, and the second in command, Koukosoa, and a good retinue of people, with only 19 sheep, 2 eows, 1 little bull, and a calf, besides a paek ox, whieh carried his mats and luggage, on which he might ride home. Upon their arriving in the front hall, Oedasoa and Koukosoa were led by the commander into his own room, seated upon a mat, and welcomed, in the first instanee, with a glass of wine, and shaking of hands, then with wheaten bread, eheese, and sugar, in a pewter dish; they were told, through Eva, that the great men in Holland always ate out of such dishes, but not the common people.

HARRY, who was in the fort, joined the party, but neither he nor ANTHONY dared sit on the mat. After some friendly conversation, of no importance, with OEDASOA, and also between him and HARRY, he took a slice of bread, and gave with his own hands to HARRY. ANTHONY, who was sitting somewhat behind, at last got a slice from KOUKOSOA, who also helped himself from the dish. OEDASOA helped his daughter, a fine well-shaped wench, not darker than a fair mestice; neither was he ugly; and all the people, from the emperor, are fine, well built-men; it is a great pity they so disfigure themselves with grease. OEDASOA, KOUKOSOA, and EVA, having come to the commander, and ordinary council, to hear what they had to say in secret, it appeared to come out that if we would assist them with men, when attacked by their enemies, he would come to live close by, and place his houses, cattle, and women, under the Steenbergen, in the Hout and Berg vallies, under our protection, while he, with our assistance, was opposing his enemies. He was asked who they were? and told that as we had made peace with the Chinouquas and Garoehoquas, we could no more make war upon our allied friends, than we could lend any of our people to act against him. EVA interpreted, that the strange people were of the great Chariguriquas, Namanas, and adherents of the Cobonas. He was told that it was our object to make friends of, and to trade with all people; that what we wanted in return for our merchandize were cattle, and gold and precious stones, which lie hid among the Cobonas and Namanas; if he could find means to supply us with these things, he would find us ready to listen to anything reasonable. But this end would be better attained through kindness and friendly alliance, than by war. He said that he thought that we had now plenty of cattle; but when answered that we

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required fully 1000 eattle a year, he pretended to be tired, went into the front hall, and laid down to sleep. Five cattle and 19 sheep were, in the meantime, bought from his people outside—they were well fed three times a day; and he, like Sousa, was entertained with a parade, and a diseharge of musketry. He, his daughter, and Koukosoa, fed at the commander's table, and heard a tune on the harpsiehord. Presents, of whieh a detached list is appended, were given to Oedasoa, his daughter Nanies, Koukosoa, and Eva, whom they ealled Crotoa; they also received for their consumption on the road 80 lbs. of riee, 100 lbs. bread, 3 flasks of brandy, 2 of Spanish wine, 20 lbs. flour, some sugar and spice; and they consumed, while here, 153 lbs. biscuit, 16 flasks brandy, 250 lbs. of rice, and 10 lbs. tobaeeo. Oedasoa prepared to depart, but finding that all the presents could not be carried on one ox, he instantly sent for two more oxen; he showed us how the iron and eopper beads should be made, and promised that his people should bring us, besides eattle, wax, and white gems found in the mountains, whieh, from his own and Koukosoa's deseription, are perhaps erystal. At the desire, apparently of Harry and Anthony, Oedasoa requested that the Goringhaiquas should be allowed again to reside upon their own land, behind the Bosheuvel, under the Steenbergen, beyond our enclosure, and also in the Hout and Berg vallies; to whieh we eonditionally eonsented; after some glasses of wine he laid down to sleep in the front hall. We afterwards showed him beads of such kinds, whieh he said other tribes would purchase if his people would not, and that they, when they heard our object was trade and not war, would in time come in greater numbers than we could eoneeive, but that if we would assist him in war, he would supply us with abundanee

of cattle, and of people to make slaves of. In the same evening 19 cattle and six sheep were brought to the fort by Gonnomoa's people. He is the other chief of the smaller half of the Cochouquas or Saldanhas, who are divided into two governments: the highest chief, and seemingly the highest born, being Oedasoa; the second, Gonnomoa; each portion is divided again into several encampments, each having their subordinate chiefs, who are the counsellors of the said Cochoquas, or higher chiefs, each ranking after the Choques (Joque, Persian, division?) or kings, according to their descent or birth. The oxen having come, the presents were put on all of them, and Oedasoa set out in the morning with his attendants, Eva following at 10 o'clock. On taking leave of the commander in his house, on the previous evening, Oedasoa said that he was now inclined to remain friends with the Dutch all his life, and that as he had been last year crippled by the lion, and was unable to take his own part in war like other people, he would, when assailed by his enemies, place himself with his women and cattle under our protection, keeping Koukosoa and his camp hereabouts for the sake of company, and now and then bringing us sheep and cattle, according to his ability; letting his other hordes go into the interior to carry on war in all directions. To this, as far as affable reception and kind treatment can accomplish the purpose, they, and especially he and Sousa, have been much encouraged by giving them all they could require in abundance. We will hope that the Lord will bless the work. Oedasoa, the Choeque, chief and king of the Cochoquas, or Saldanhas, came to the fort with a long train of attendants, bringing with him only 16 sheep, which were all bought. Oedasoa was taken on board to see the ships, where he was well entertained.

The Kaffers. 1660, December.

Sousa came with a great retinue of people, and Harry, as interpreter, bringing 71 sheep and 83 eattle. He was accordingly nobly received, and Harry also, as he tries again to ingratiate himself. The sheep were bought for brass, and the cattle for beads. These Chinouquas, who live and trade to the eastward, cry out for red beads, and the Cochoquas, (Oedasoa's people,) or Saldanhas, who live to the N. W., are fondest of copper chains. We get the cattle chiefly from the former, and the sheep chiefly from the latter. Hundreds of the former, including many of the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas, were in consequence of this noble trade, and because they had found and brought back a draught ox, which had strayed some days ago,—nobly entertained with food and brandy. The chief Sousa, who was clothed in leopard's skin, with Choco, chief of the Garachouquas, and Harry, were regaled apart from the commonality, in the commander's dining room, with sugar and cheese, fresh bread and Spanish wine, on a pewter dish, by way of a royal entertainment; after this, Sousa, half elated with wine, and all his people, set off. Harry told them that presents would be prepared for them by to-morrow, but he did not wait, saying that he would soon bring a large lot of cattle, and that another great Heer, one of his allies, who had never been here, would come. His name is Hanckysoa, also subject to the Honcumquas, who cultivate dacha, and never move their houses. He was now disposed to allow himself to be conveyed to the fort on a riding ox, that he might see and become known to the commander. Sousa disposes of all the goods he gets to them for cattle, of which they have great numbers, as have also other tribes N. E. of the Honcumquas, from whom more remote and subject tribes procure their merchandize; they are named

Chamaquas, Omaquas, Atiquas, Hontumquas, Cau- The Kaffers. 1660, December.
quas, all, like the Honcumquas, dacha planters, and rich in people and cattle; they are dressed and greased like all the Hottentoos, and although their houses are also of mats, are stationary. Beyond these are said to be the Choboquas, or people of MONOMATOPA, who are black Kaffers, just like the Guinea and Angola slaves. They have abundance of cattle and sheep, and are dressed in calve and sheepskins.—HARRY had seen the Cochoquas when living with the Chainouquas, but had never been at their places of abode; he knew nothing of gold and jewels, but what he now heard from SOUSA; all the Hottentoo tribes above named, reside between the middle of this African continent, and the sea, to the castward of the Cape—where, according to HARRY's account, they are to be found in various bays; they would, he says, show every friendship, if those visiting them only said they were of SOURY's people, for that is the name by which the commander is known among all the tribes of the Hottentoo race, and signifies, lord of the people who endeavour to be friends with all nations, and who advises them all to be friends with each other. Mr. MOODIE says in a note, that the etymological compliment here paid to his own policy by VAN RIEBEECK, is hardly borne out by the subseqnent use of the word soury, which seems merely equivalent to chief. Those, continues the Journal, who reside to the N. West from the middle of the continent to Saldanha Bay and the Angola country, are, first the Cochoquas, of which people OEDASOA and GONOMA are the Heeren; the next are, the great and little Chariguriquas, without hereditary chiefs, but who have revolted from the Cochoquas—all these are Hottentoos like the Cape tribe, and then follow the Namaquas.

The Kaffers. 1660, December. Commentary No. 15.

Whatever may be thought of the propriety or otherwise of placing the tribes who have lately been brought on the boards by Van Riebeeck, under the Head of Kaffers, the Namaquas are so obviously not of that race, that I shall transfer them to the Hottentot Head. As we proceed there is more and more reason to believe that those lately brought on the boards are not of the Kaffer race; but the matter is not important, and it will perhaps be difficult for those best acquainted with the history of the various tribes of South Africa two hundred years ago, to say who were Kaffers and who Hottentots; the original characteristics of the latter race must have undergone many changes since the tribes were broken up, and they took to wearing hats and breeches. And there is but one outward and visible sign, with which I am acquainted, that marks the Kaffer from the Hottentot; for the fine manly bearing and courage of the Hottentot may have been equal to those of the Kaffer, when he was equally a free man.

Nine more sheep were bought from the Chainouquas, who promise to return with a good many more in eight or ten days. The Cochoquas brought a bull and two oxen, also five sheep; the former were bought for beads, tobacco, and pipes, and the latter for brass. Oedasoa came to the fort with 16 sheep, expressly to say that his people had informed him that we had been told that our people had sustained some injury from his people in the interior. He requested that we would not believe this, but rest assured that they would be received with every mark of friendship, and he said that he had been told that, on account of this report, we were about to attack him with many mounted men, for which Van Riebeeck observes, they are much afraid. He was told that no such tale had reached us, and he ought to set his mind at rest (it

is from what his people said about the Souquas.—See Bosjeman Head, under this date). Oedasoa departed, after being entertained with bread, tobacco, and rice, on account of which, apparently, he made up the loose report above-mentioned. He was told, in a good-humoured friendly manner, that if he came with such large herds of cattle as are brought by Sousa, the king of the Chainouquas, then, indeed, there would be a fine, capital present for him, that his company was, at the same time, very agreeable to us, and the more so the more cattle he brought. Eva is again living in the commander's house, laying aside her skins, and dressing herself in her clothes in the Indian manner, that she may resume the exercise of her functions as interpreter. She seems now again to be somewhat tired of her own people, and we allow her to indulge this changeable disposition accord- to her own fancy, so as to have the better service from her; but she seems so much habituated to the Dutch customs and the Dutch food, that she will never be able entirely to relinquish them. The Kaffers. 1660, December.

Oedasoa came again to the fort with 11 cattle and 31 sheep, which were chiefly bought for beads, brandy and tobacco, only 8 sheep being bought for brass. Of the Namaquas they said nothing, except that they were Hottentoos like themselves, also dressed in skins, living in mat houses, and subsisting on cattle, of which they had great numbers; they did not wear chains on the arms or necks, or in the ears, but beads round the waist, and copper bracelets; occupying a great extent of land in consequence of the number of their cattle; much given to war; armed with bows and assagais; their breast protected by a piece of dry hide, like a breast-plate, which neither assagai nor arrow could penetrate; always at variance with the Saldanhas; but they think, as Oedasoa is now allied to the 1661, January—February.

The Kaffers. 1661, February.

Dutch, that the Namaquas could do him no harm if they should come. They said the Namaquas were coming this way with four camps, but that from the number of their cattle they could only move slowly. Oedasoa set out well satisfied after his kind reception. Three cows and 6 sheep were bartered from the Cochoquas. Some advance parties of the Chainouquas also came, from whom 14 cattle were purchased; they said that not only their lord and king, Sousa, was on his way with a good herd, but that some of his allies, the Hassequas, were coming with a much greater number. Oedasoa came to the fort with a lean ox and 20 sheep, some very old, and all the others having their tails cut off; this being objected to, he replied he could do no better, that every one brought to the market what he chose, and as his people rejected our bad tobacco, we might well refuse their bad cattle, so that they might bring better. Two Goringhaiquas came to the fort with a person who gave himself out to be a messenger from the chief or king of the Hassequas, before-mentioned, to learn whether he would be as well received as Sousa, the chief or king of the Chainouquas, if so, he would come with many cattle, and enter into an alliance, as he wished to get some iron to point assagais and arrows, as his had all been expended upon his enemies, who had driven him out of his country. His enemies, he said, were quite black, with thick lips; very dexterous in the use of the bow and arrow; living in houses of clay with wooden door posts. He told us many things according to Eva's interpretation. He was again interrogated through the aid of other Hottentoos, and his statements were found to agree. Some merchandize was given to him to show to his master as he desired, and after being well entertained and getting some presents, he departed, desiring that

we should take good note of him, so that he might be hereafter known from others, and should his words prove true be well received. May the Almighty send us something good! Sousa came with 50 cattle, 14 sheep, and a great retinue of people, but as many of the animals were lean, the sellers were told that they must be pleased to bring no more such poor things. Sousa being apart with his wife, youngest son, three daughters, and sister-in-law, the caution was impressed upon him; he said each person would bring to market only what he chose; but he would talk to them about bringing better cattle, we might then reject any that were lean, and they would not be offended. He departed well satisfied, with a good present for himself and company, and some tobacco for his son and successor Goeboe. According to his account the Hassequas will soon heave in sight, with many more cattle than he has, and the lord and king of that people is his brother. The return fleet of seven ships arrived, commanded by Mr. Andries Frisius, who had a commission to inspect the Cape resideney, and the commissioner went out with the commander to inspect the establishment. The Kaffers 1661, February.

Sousa came without cattle to visit us, hearing that there were ships in the bay; he was received as usual. The admiral gave him a present, and he went home highly gratified, promising soon to return with some cattle. Our people returned from the interior, having found the Namaquas; they would gladly have fought one battle with Oedasoa, but at the intercession of our people they suffered themselves to be persuaded, if he sent 2 or 3 of his people with our men to solicit peace, to accede to his request. The under-surgeon Meerhoff, to whom the mission was intrusted, was sent to request their chief, Oedasoa, to come to the commander, to consult about the Namaquas. He March.

The Kaffers. 1661, March.

came with KAUKASOA, some of his elders, and the oldest son of GOGOSOA, chief of the Goringhaiquas. The objects of the Dutch having been explained, OEDASOA replied that he could not induce any of his people to go to the Namaquas; it was true, he said, that they had numbers of cattle, but they had not nearly so many people as he had; that he had little to fear from them, and that, if they did not injure him, he would not hurt them; as to peace, if they came, peace would be concluded between them; and if not, he was at hand with the Gorachoquas, and the Goringhaiquas were not half a day's journey, to make head against them; whilst his comrade, the other chief of the Cochoquas, could assist him with 6 or 8000 men; and, when united, should the Namaquas attempt any thing against them, they were not afraid, although that people did fight with shields, and were men of tall stature. He said, however, that he would put his words of peace to the Namaquas, into the mouths of the Hottentoos, who would go with our men as interpreters. We replied that we had spoken to him as a friend, to show him our way of acting, and to induce all the tribes to live at peace; and also, that as he was our ally, we might learn his intention, and arrange all to our common interest; with all this he expressed himself well pleased, but forthwith turned the conversation to tobacco, food, and drink, so that being unable to make any thing of OEDASOA, we dropped the subject. By a resolution, under the same date, it was determined to send a second mission to the Namaquas, under instructions to negotiate a peace between them and the Cochoquas, in order to facilitate the expected trade with the former.

Commentary No. 16.

No bad sample in all this, of the relative positions and strength of the several native tribes. It is quite obvious that the Namaquas had been induced to make

an advanee towards the Cape, in the hope of sharing in the trade of the Dutch in common with the Cochoquas and others; that they were encouraged in this by the Duteh, in the hope that something good might be got out of them; and that so unpalatable to the Coehoquas, in their own and their allies' pride of strength, was the proposed mediation of the Duteh, that they would not even entrust their word of peaee to the Dutch mission for delivery to the Namaquas, but preferred the mouth of the Hottentoo interpreter of the mission. The Kaffers. 1661, March.

Oedasoa resolved to send three of his servants with our people to offer peaee to the Namaquas, and Kaukasoa returned home with him after they had reeeived presents and good entertainment. Three days after our people set out with two Hottentoo interpreters, and the three ambassadors of Oedasoa, with presents for the Namaquas. Sousa, the king of the Chainouquas, came with 9 sheep, two of which as presents for the commander, of whom he now came to take leave, as he was about to return to his country and people until next year, when he hoped to return with 4 or 500 cattle to barter, and also to bring some one of the people whom he had mentioned, as having gold and white gems. To encourage him in this, another good present was given to him, as well as to his wife, son, &c., and they set off well satisfied. March.

Peace was eoncluded by representatives of the Namaquas, and the three men who, on Oedasoa's part, aeeompanied the Dutch mission to the Namaquas for this purpose, to the great joy of all. In Meerhoff's journal of his seeond mission to the Namaquas, he says, that on the 13th day he found the Hottentoos, called the Chariguriquas, from whom he understood, as he had done from the Souquas, April.

The Kaffers. 1661, April.

that the Namaquas could not be found before the rains. They were merry with Oedasoa's people. I poured out brandy for the chief until he was drunk, and he said that they procured the copper and iron, of which they made their beads, from the Choboquas, who lay a month's journey off; that they also are Hottentoos, but somewhat darker than these; that like these, they subsist by cattle, and trade with the real Cabouers of Monomotopa. He told me plainly that they got their copper and beads from the place where the Portuguese lived, but that to reach them we must begin to travel in the wet season, for otherwise it was impossible, in consequence of the great droughts. Meerhoff observes, there is nothing but sand hills, and the cattle have nothing to eat but short grass, and tops of brushwood. In my whole life I never saw so naked a eountry, it does not bear a handful of grass. We set out on our return (on the 10th of April, having left the Cape on the 21st Mareh,) as it began to rain, and had we waited any longer, we should not have got over the Oliphants' River, for I have seen it rise twelve feet in nine hours, and that in the dry season. To the words "real Caboners of Monomotopa," a few sentenees back, Mr. Moodie says in a note,—see infra—the aceount of the situation and habits of the Kaffers given to Ensign Schryver in 1689, by the ehief of the Heeon Hottentoos, which eompare with the aceounts previously reeeived from the crew of the *Stavenisse*.

May.

Van Riebeeck's Journal proceeds—Some of Gonoma's people came to the fort with 2 eattle and 16 sheep, and said the ehief would soon eome himself. Three days after Gonnomoa, the second chief of the Saldanhas, eame with 3 eattle and 29 sheep. We had been aceustomed to eall him the Swarte Kaptein. He was in the fort the evening before Harry

stole all our cattle in 1653, and has never dared to show himself here since, for fear that we should consider him also guilty. (This is surely a mistake, Mr. Van Riebeeck?) He was much pleased to hear that we had made peace with all the great people of the country, that we wished to make peace with more people, and to preserve it inviolably with him. He appeared greatly surprised at all the buildings that had been erected since he was last here, and said that no one in the world any longer entertained evil designs against the Dutch, but that all the chiefs hereabouts were now entirely satisfied about past events, and inclined with one heart and mind henceforth.... (M. S. decayed, Mr. Moodie says here, as he does in many other places.) Eva said, on the part of Gonnomoa, that, hearing of the commander's intended departure, he had come to see him once more, and to request that he might be admitted into and continued on the same terms of friendship as Oedasoa and others; and that he might be well recommended to the new commander; that on his side he would not be wanting in bringing cattle. A fitting answer was given to his contentment, and he was assured of the continuance of friendship; after which his attendants were treated with food and brandy until they were merry, when, towards night, they went to sleep. Gonnomoa went home with a good present, and well satisfied; and two days after his people brought 8 sheep and 2 cows, which were purchased. Some advanced parties of the Chainouquas came to the fort with 3 cattle, and said their master was coming with many cattle. Oedasoa's people brought 4 sheep; and six days after Oedasoa and Gonnomoa, the 1st and 2d kings of the Cochoquas or Saldanhas, came to the fort with 15 cattle and 43 sheep, which were bought for brass, red beads, copper chains, and tobacco; and the kings were well entertained.

The Kaffers. 1661, May.

The Kaffers. 1661, June. When the new commander should arrive they would come with some cattle as a present to welcome him, and to be introduced to him by the present commander, so that the successor might know who were in alliance with us, and that they were determined to trade on as good terms with him as with his predecessor. HARRY and ANTHONY perceiving that this would be a desirable thing, undertook to advise the Honques, or chiefs of the Goraehoquas and the Goringhaiquas. Three sheep were brought by OEDASOA's people, and 6 cattle by people who called themselves the advanced messengers of the Chainouquas. They said that their King SOUSA, was coming with many cattle. Bartered cattle with Goraehoquas and OEDASOA's people.

July. GONNOMOA brought to the fort 4 cattle and 21 sheep, which were purchased, also a large bull, as a present to the commander; he was well entertained to attach him to us.

1662, April. The cattle trade goes on tolerably well, though we had hoped that a greater quantity would have been brought in; it seems, however, that the new Hottentoos, called Chainonquas, have a great distance to travel, and having to travel slowly with their cattle, cannot reach us so soon as we supposed, or as we had understood them to have promised. Our trade this year with the Saldanhas (the Chainouquas) has been mostly in sheep, and least in horned cattle. We are daily more convinced that the mounted guard enforces the utmost respect from our thievish neighbours, the Goringhaiquas and Gorachoquas, and not less the Saldanhas, and others; and we hope that next year we may be able to mount 20 men upon the young horses reared here, which are of a very good breed. We have an idea that OEDASOA, the chief of the Saldanhas, tries to separate us from the Namaquas, and from all other tribes, fearing, that should they

come hither, the pastures would be too little for them all, and that he would thus sink in our estimation. This we are given to understand by the great Choringunquas, who have renounced the authority of the Saldanhas, and live at the Oliphants' River, betwixt which and the Namaquas lies the dry and salt tract of country. The Kaffers. 1662, April.

VAN RIEBEECK'S *Memorandum for the information and guidance of his successor, Mr.* WAGENAAR. May.

Saldanhas, or Cochoquas, consist of two divisions, under two chiefs or choques, (which means king)—the first is named OEDASOA, the other chief is named GONNOMOA, and is often some distance apart from OEDASOA. They have together several thousand men, and generally occupy the middle of the country, opposite to us, under the African mountains, extending from near False Bay quite to Saldanha Bay, but not always remaining in one place, and moving about for change of pasture.

The Chainouquas, whose king is named SOUSA, with whom we are on very good terms. We have bartered a great number of cattle and a good many sheep with them. They are able to supply us abundantly, and on taking leave of us last year, promised to return with a still larger quantity. They are quite different from the Hottentoos, and almost all reside on the east coast of Africa, where they sometimes show themselves in some bays. We have only begun to know them well during the last two years.

The Honsequas.—A messenger was sent from them last year, saying that their chief would come. The Hottentoos who live near us speak in high terms of this tribe, and say, now that SOUSA is gone, they will come with great herds of cattle. See Head Namaquas, in VAN RIEBEECK'S Mem.

The Kaffers. 1662, May.

The Hancumquas.—They appear to be the greatest and most powerful of all the race of greasy Hottentoos. They are said to live permanently on the same spot, and they cultivate the plant which they call dacha. The chiefs of this tribe appear to be the chiefs over all the choques or kings, being entitled chocbaha, which seems to mean emperor, or at least upper king, or lord over all the others. Those who reside further than this chief lord of the Hottentoos, though of the same race, are much richer in cattle than all those who live on this side of this supreme chief, are named, first—

Chamaquas, and next to them the Omaquas, Atiquas, Houtumquas, and Chauquas, all subsisting like Hancumquas, besides their countless herds of cattle, by dacha plantations, living on fixed spots, in large mat huts, dressed in skins like all the Hottentoos, and equally greasy. After those are said to begin, though beyond the river Vigiti Magna, and in an easterly direction, another race of people called by all the Hottentoos Choboqua, or Cobona, residing in houses constructed of wood, clay, and other materials, but at the same time maintaining themselves by cattle, and wearing clothes; these we conjecture to be the people of Monomotopa, as Eva would often persuade us. Sousa says there is chory or gold, and white gems among them. The messenger from the Hassequas told us that there is a people who keep lions as tame as we keep dogs, among whom, it is said, that the gold and white gems are to be found. I wish you success in your search after these people. Had I remained here, we intended when the rains were over, and the dry season commenced, to send a party of volunteers to try whether they could not find the Choboquas; they have nothing to look for in any quarter but a most friendly reception.

There eannot now be the least doubt but that a mistake was made in transferring the Coehoquas, under their chiefs, Oedasoa and Gonnomoa, to the Kaffer head, and they have aecordingly been restored to the Hottentoo paper. The mistake arose from their being at first brought on the stage in October, 1658, with such parade and effect by Van Riebeeck. How many of the other tribes must also be restored to the Hottentoo paper can only be aseertained as the mysteries of the question are dispelled by further researeh into, and acquaintance with my text book, "The Record." At present it seems probable that the Choboqua or Cobona, will alone prove to be the veritable Kaffer, and they are still considered the inhabitants of the Portuguese or Dutch fabulous city and country of Monomotopa.—(December 7th, 1844.)

The Kaffers. 1662, May. Commentary No. 17.

Commander Wagenaar's *Journal.*

The Chainouquas begin to eome in like last year with their cattle; their corpus lies about 20 days journey from this; they appeared at the fort to-day with 24 cattle and 33 sheep, which were bought for brass, tobacco, and beads. They said their chief Sousa was not likely to come this year; he was so old and so infirm; but they promised to bring as many cattle as before. They came with 19 cattle and 16 sheep, according to their promise of the day before yesterday. August.

The Chainouquas brought 13 eattle and 30 sheep, which were bartered for the usual merchandize; and again 24 cattle and 7 sheep, which were purchased for brass and tobacco; and a third batch of 26 cows and 39 sheep, which were purchased; for what, is not mentioned. October.

The Kaffers. 1662, November.

A party of Hassequas, a people who live near the Chainouquas, chiefly to the eastward of the Cape, came to the fort with their king's brother, and a fine herd of cattle; 3 or 4 of which belonged to the Chainouquas; they had in all 45 head, some of them fine young oxen; also 24 sheep, all of which were purchased for brass, beads, and tobacco; and the sellers were treated to a dram of brandy, as usual. They said, that perhaps SOUSA would come in person to pay his respects to the new Sourie, as he had not been at the fort since the departure of the last Sourie or commander; and that he resided at such a distance, that in the wet seasons the rivers were very deep and difficult to pass, but that season was now beginning to pass away, and that large herds of cattle should still this year be brought by his people. We bought from OEDASOA's people a bull, 2 cows, and 7 sheep, for brass and tobacco.

1663, January.

SOUSA, captain of the Chainouquas, came to the fort, with 48 cattle and 34 sheep, and departed after a good reception, with small presents; we received 8 cattle from his people, the rest we allowed them to keep, as they were so poor that they could hardly stand on their legs. We have at present too many such old, poor, and toothless animals, of which 2 or 3 are daily left dying in the fields.

February—June.

The chief SOUSA requested that we would visit him for once in his kraal, and said that if we had no pack oxen, he would lend us 6 for the purpose.

July.

In the evening some Hottentoos came to the fort with 5 pack oxen, and 7 or 8 of them came in and seated themselves in a corner of the hall. We discovered when a light was brought that the chief of the Chainouquas, SOUSA himself, was among them; he had brought the oxen solely to convey us and our luggage, for he was affronted that we had not visited

him at his kraal, as we had visited Oedasoa, Gonnoma and other chiefs, as he is very rich in cattle, and as he comes himself with oxen to fetch us, the fiscal was sent, with 6 men, to pay this visit on Saturday, in company with the Hottentoos; also to barter and bring with him some large cattle, which are much wanted. The weather being very cold we sat before these naked Hottentoos a kettle full of warm beer and bread; also plenty of rice, bread, tobacco, and brandy; and having refreshed themselves to repletion with these things, they began, towards evening, merrily to sing and dance in the hall; as day gradually broke we saw all the said natives lying in the hall, rolled together under their greasy stinking skins, like dead hedgehogs; but on receiving a sup of brandy they began to be inspired with life—and having eaten and drank until 9 o'clock, and received their presents, the commander gave them their *conge*, and allowed them to depart. They are, however, such shameless beggars that there was no getting rid of them. They had taken no care of their oxen, and 1 of them was missing; the other 4 were loaded, and driven on before by the soldiers who were to accompany the fiscal, but as the Cape Hottentoos could not manage them they ran about the fields in all directions, and flung off their loads; how they may get on hereafter we are likely to hear in a few days. It has always been supposed hitherto that the Chainouquas were very numerous and rich in cattle; but it has now been found to be quite otherwise, for the kraal in which Sousa, the great captain, lives, has only 21 houses and 4 or 500 cattle.

The Kaffers. 1663, July.

There need be no longer any doubt but that the king Sousa, of the Chainouquas, or Hancumquas, as described by Van Riebeeck, belongs to the Hottentot and not to the Kaffer family,—and he may,

The Kaffers. 1663, July.

therefore, from this period, as Oedasoa and Gonnomoa, the chiefs of the Coehoquas, were before, be transferred from the Kaffer to the Hottentot paper.

1664—1665. 1670, June.

Letter from Commander Pieter Hackius *and Council to the Chamber.*

The *Grundel* was fitted out and dispatched to examine the coast to the northward, and completed her voyage as far as the Tropie; but neither trade nor harbour was found, except Grundel Bay, in lat. 26° 36.—and as to the utmost extent of the voyage no other tribes than Hottentoos were found, our projected slave trade had no effect. Mr. Moodie says in a note that it appears by a dispatch of the 23rd of February, 1671, that 17 men, who were landed in the Bay of Os Medos de Cura, in search of fire-wood and water, were left behind; 6 of the party came on board two days after, sent by the corporal for powder, provisions, and brass, for the purpose of trading with the Kaffers, a people of good disposition and civil manners, by whom the men were well received. The Kaffers had abundance of elephants' tusks, in which they were well inclined to trade. "They are not very different from the Hottentoos in appearance, except in their hair, which is much longer than that of the natives here." The instructions issued for the voyage to the west coast in 1670, "laid it down," says Mr. Moodie in a note, "as certain that a Kaffer, or in other words, a negro race, would be found on the west coast; and it appears to have been upon this assumption that the order to buy slaves was founded. It will soon appear that the Hottentoo race were stated to extend far north of the Tropic, and that the endeavours sub-

sequently made to ascertain, on the west coast, the extent of the Hottentoo and Kaffer races, and their relations at the point of contact, were long unsuccessful. It appears by a Resolution of the 26th September, 1672, that the *Flying Swan*, which had been sent to the eastward in search of the men left by the *Grundel*, returned unsuccessful on the 2d of that month. The resolution for the dispatch of the vessel to the eastward, is dated the 3d June, 1672. (Absent three months?) The instructions, dated the 17th, show the extent of knowledge then obtained of the coast. "You will not touch at the bays Hout, Struys, Vis, Mossel, Content, and De la Goa, to Rio d'Infante, or Pt. Premiere, which have been visited, partly by our people by land, and the others and most distant, by said vessel." The Kaffers. 1670, June.

It is curious in these proceedings to trace that the designation of Kaffer and Negro were in the estimation of the Dutch synonymous; and that that opprobrious term used by the Mahommedans to designate infidels, was adopted by the Dutch in their endeavours to find a Negro race on the west coast, to be purchased as slaves, and thence transferred to the race which they found in latitude 26. 36. on the east coast, and that it should since have become a generic designation for the tribes inhabiting the east coast; or, it is very possible, that the tribes on the east coast may have been called Kaffers by the Mahommedans, who communicated with them from the Red Sea, and that designation may afterwards have been continued to them by the first European navigators, without understanding its import. The circumstance of the people on the east coast having adopted the Mahommedan rite of circumcision, may be received in proof that Mahommedan priests had been among them either previous, or subsequent Commentary No. 18.

The Kaffers. 1670, June. to the visit of Europeans; for it appears impossible to ascertain when that rite of the Jewish and Mahommedan nations was adopted by the people on the east coast of Africa; or when its adoption first attracted the notice of their European visitors.

1679. The Hassequas are generally designated Africans, whilst other tribes are called Hottentots; were then those Africans with whom Lieut. OMARA bartered a few head of cattle and sheep, at Mossel Bay, the tribe of Kaffers?

Dispatch to the Chamber.

A vessel leaving the Cape in May, for the Madagascar slave trade, might touch at ——— lying in latitude 20. 58. where the *Voorkomst*, in 1673, purchased from the natives at a cheap rate, and for some articles of dress, two stout slaves, who were real Kaffers; both are still alive; they thrive well in this climate, and have been a little instructed; they would be serviceable in making us acquainted with the trade in slaves, and other merchandize, which has, for the want of such assistance, been hitherto concealed.

Dispatch to the Chamber.

1682, April. The Namaquas have also brought to our knowledge two other sorts of people, who live far to the north, whom they called Grie and Griequas; the last residing furthest inland, and according to them the most distant are real (opregte) Kaffers.

Commentary. There can from this be little doubt but that the people whom the Namaquas called, in their conference with the Dutch, (opregte,) as most distant, were a

people on the left bank of the Orange River, near its junction with the sea; and that the Dutch translation of opregte, into Kaffer, has its origin in their prior communication with Mahommedans, very far north, either on the west or the east coast of Africa. The Kaffers. 1682, April.

Dispatch from the Chamber. June.

That the Kaffers who are formed to work most laborious, and the most easily habituated to the circumstances of the country, are so given to desertion, is most vexing. (Are then all slaves called Kaffers?) The premium paid upon the Hottentots bringing deserted slaves to the castle ought to produce some effect; if too low, it may be somewhat raised. If you should be of opinion that they would be more zealous if free, you may make the experiment with one or two families, and leave nothing untried which is likely in any degree to lead to the advancement of agriculture.

Captain Willem Knyff arrived with ten of his crew, having lost their ship, the *Stavenisse*, on the 6th of February, last year, on the coast of Terra de Natal, as appears detailed in the following statement of the said Captain W. Knyff. The captain of the vessel states, that after the vessel struck, the boat was lowered with the purser, surgeon's mate, and 11 or 12 sailors, but that she was upset in the surf, and most of them were drowned. Some account of the measures adopted by the ship's company to enable them to reach the Cape, is given in the First Part, and I shall only further notice what was omitted under that Head, so far as I can remember, for I have not 1687, March.

The Kaffers. 1687, March.

now got that Head to refer to. In the declaration of the officers and sailors of the ship, it is stated that the wreck took place between the 30. and 31. of south latitude; that after the party, 47, which had resolved to go by land to the Cape started, there remained 13; of these, the surgeon died in five or six weeks, and the boatswain's mate was struck dead by an elephant; a boat was repaired in 14 days, and being furnished with supplies, seven men, including the captain, set off in her, but not succeeding in getting many miles, they pushed back to the shore, when the boat was broken to pieces. The natives offered bread and cattle for sale, but they had nothing to purchase the one or the other; nothing being esteemed but beads, and copper rings for the neck or arms. For nails, bolts, and other iron-work of the wreck, they, however, got some bread and corn. But the natives set to work, and by chopping and boring, fully supplied themselves with iron, for the crew was not at first aware that it was so highly regarded; nor dared they oppose the natives for fear of provoking them, as they had sometimes fully 1000 armed men—"they had every thing in abundance while we suffered from want;" when reduced to the last necessity, two Englishmen came to them, who had lost their ship some months before, 20 mylen farther north; they were acquainted with the country and the language, and instructed the others how to deal with the natives; they gave their new visitors a share of their copper rings and common beads, and had meat and bread enough for all for fifty days, which they shared with the others. The Dutch therefore resolved to unite their fortunes with the English, for better for worse; they procured an abundance of food for copper rings and beads. It was resolved to build a vessel, and each applied his skill to the work. John Kingston, an Englishman, made

a saw out of a luyk; a trip was made to the wreck, and various articles were picked up. The vessel being at length made ready by their own diligence, and the diligence of the natives, she was launched, stored with an indifferent supply of bread and corn, water, and meat, both salted and fresh, and put to sea on the 17th of February without chart, quadrant, or compass. She reached Table Bay on the 1st of March, where the crew were surprised to hear no intelligence of the 47 healthy and active men, who, about 12 months before, set out for the Cape by land. The above is from the captain's declaration. The two officers and sailors state, that on the second day after the wreck of the boat, two well-armed Englishmen and some natives came to them, offering them all imaginable help for their common preservation. It was accepted, and they all set out with one of the Englishmen for the spot where the English had lost their ship about 11 months before, and where they had their encampment, about 20 miles north; the other Englishman remained to take care of the surgeon and two others who were sick in the tent, which had been erected on the shore, out of the wood and sails driven on shore from the wreck of the *Stavenisse*. They were not able by any rewards to induce the natives to carry the sick, for although they would carry 50 or 100 lbs. of iron, or other weight, three or four days' journey over hill and valley, for a copper earring, they feared that by carrying the sick they would be rendered unclean. The surgeon having died and been buried, the people who had been left behind joined the rest, when they resolved to set a vessel on the stocks, and to build it, as far as possible, of the wood of the country; meanwhile they made several journeys to the wreck. In the beginning of the year another party of nine Englishmen came to

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them, who had a short time before lost their ship and all their property at latitude 28½. The vessel being at last completed, to the length of 50 feet, and about 14 feet broad, and 2 masts having been rigged, they shipped some provisions and ground meal, and two or three tons of corn, 2 or 300 fowls, about 1000 lbs. salted and smoked beef, with 20 goats, 150 pumpkins, 17 half-leggers of water, 11 of the leggers having been made there, and all purchased for the copper and beads of the English, which also sufficed to pay the natives for their labour. They sailed on the 17th February, without chart or compass, after they had resided a year and a day at Natal, and left there four Englishmen and one Frenchman, who thought it better and more advantageous for them to remain there, than to trust themselves to the mountain waves of the sea and of fortune. They found the country very fruitful and populous, and the natives friendly, compassionate, obliging; strong and ingenious; armed with only one assegai; obedient and submissive to their king or chief; living in communities, in huts made of branches, wrought through with rushes and long grass, and roofed like hay stacks in Holland. In manners, dress, and behaviour, they are much more orderly than the Cape Hottentots. The women attend to cultivation; the men herd and milk the cows. They do not eat poultry, because they feed on filth, still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them sick to see Europeans eat them. For a copper ring, or a common neckringlet, of the thickness of a tobacco pipe, they sell a fat cow or an ox of 600 lbs. weight, more or less; for a similar ring, they give as much corn as will fill an ordinary meal tub, from which corn they make very well tasted and nourishing bread; and brew beer, both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels; they eat besides a cer-

tain bean, in size and taste not unlike the European horse bean; also some roots, worse flavored than sweet potatoes; they have tobaeeo, and smokc it; by good management its quality might be improvcd; of fruits, they have only a kind of unknown prune, and eoloquintidas; thcre are elephants of an ineredible size, and in sueh numbers, that 50 or 60 are seen together; wild buffaloes, hogs, cats, scacows; gcese, ducks, and other birds. The Kaffers. 1687, March.

Further, deelaring nothing, except that in less than 12 days they, being eleven Dutch and ninc English, landed here from Natal.

Signed by the deponcnts, and sworn to by them, on the 24th March.

It appears from this that two English ships had been lost near Natal, within the year in which the Dutch ship the *Stavenisse*, was lost there on the 16th February, 1686, in lat. 30. or 31. S.,; that most of the Dutch ship's company, consisting of about 60 men, got safely on shore; two well-armed Englishmen and some natives eame to the Dutch the day after they reached the shore. The English appear to have been living in elose friendship with the natives—in what the Dutch call an encampment, about 20 mylen to the north of the plaee where the Dutch then were—and at the place whcre they had thcmselves lost their ship eleven months before. Then another party of 9 Englishmen joined the Dutch; they having lost their ship and all thcir property, 2 or 3 degrees further S., 28½. By the united afforts of the Europeans and the assistance of the natives, a vessel whieh they resolved to set on the stocks, and to build as far as possiblc of the wood of the country—was launehed. The vessel was two-masted, 50 fect long, and 14 broad. She was provisioned with some ground meal, somc tons of corn, abundance of poultry, and goats, Commentary.

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salted and smoked beef, pumpkins, and water, all purchased from the natives with the copper beads which the English had saved in their wreck, with which too, the natives were paid for their labour. Who the natives were who at that time inhabited the country near Natal, it is of course impossible to determine. They were probably not very different in their manners and institutions from the people whom we find there in the present day, or from those whom we find some degrees further south, and whom it has pleased Europeans to designate by the opprobrious term Kaffer. We are, as might be expected, more indebted to these shipwrecked mariners who had been thus accidentally cast amongst the natives of Natal, and whose future fortunes, for good or for evil, became blended with those of the natives, for information respecting the tribes—than to all the preceding narratives of the operations of the Dutch government, its officers, and people, who had come to play the parts of the tyrant and usurper. We accordingly find the people about Natal described as being friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong, and ingenious, obedient and submissive to their chief—living in communities, and in comfortable bee-hive shaped houses, such as we see the Kaffers living in at the present day. Their manners, dress, and behaviour appeared to the sailors to be of a superior order to those of the Hottentots living in the neighbourhood of the Cape. What will appear to any person who has been in India as remarkable—whilst they would not refuse to carry 50, aye, 100 lbs. of iron or other weight, three or four days' journey, over hill and valley, for a copper ear-ring, nothing would induce these people to carry the Dutch surgeon or other sick men, lest they should be thereby rendered unclean; neither would they eat the fowls, which

they appear to have reared in such numbers, because fowls feed on filth, and it made them sick to see the Europeans eat the eggs of fowls. They had beef and corn in such abundance that a fat cow, or a meal-tub full of corn could be bought for a common ring of the thickness of a tobacco pipe. The home brewed beer of the natives appears to have found favour in the tastes of the Europeans. We find too, that they preserved their home brewed beer in earthen vessels, and this is the first time we hear of pottery amongst the natives of South Africa. It is no great wonder, therefore, that four Englishmen and one Frenchman should have thought it more advantageous to them to remain with these friendly people than to accompany the party of 11 Dutch and 9 English by sea to the Cape, or the other party of 50 or 60 men in their still more adventurous land journey for the same destination. The scene is altogether highly interesting —but far more as it respects the natives than the Europeans. I had not the least notion until I read "The Record," that such a Robinson Crusoe adventure had been enacted near Port Natal in the end of the seventeenth century. The most interesting fact is that the people were living in such perfect obedience to their chiefs, that they worked for the European strangers, and were paid for their work with a few trinkets; whilst, had they been of the character of wreckers in other parts of the world, they might have taken the whole property belonging to the unfortunate men who had been cast among them without working at all. Yet these are the chiefs and people whom Europeans still, in their insolence of place and power, believe to be unsuited for self government.

The Kaffers. 1687, March.

Graham's Town, 15th February, 1845.

The Kaffers. 1687, March.

On the 4th of March the five English sailors who had come from Terra de Natal in their vessel, requested service. Capt. John Gilford, of Bristol, and his five men, asked on the sixth for a passage to Europe, and for some clothes. They had lost their ship, the *Bona Ventura*, of London, on the coast of Natal, on the 25th of December, in lat. 28½. It was resolved to give the Captain and his five sailors a passage in the *Alkmar*, if they would do duty as sailors; and to take the other two, who had lost their ship, the *Good Hope*, into the Company's service. Henry Wilkins, of Bristol, mate of the *Bona Ventura*, states that his ship of 90 tons burden, sailed from the Downs on the 1st of May, O. S. 1686, crew 9 men and a boy, bound for the East Coast of Africa. They passed the Cape of Good Hope after sighting the land, and anchored in the River De la Goa, at Cape St. Maria, where they lay four weeks, lat. 26. A description of De la Goa and the natives there, Mr. Moodie says, is given in the original Dutch, which he has omitted in the translation. Finding cattle dear, and little chance of profit, they sailed to Cape Corilentes, in lat. 24—thence they proceeded to Bay Piseada, in lat. 28½. Henry Wilkins' narrative goes on to describe how the ship was lost, how, from the neglect of the crew, who all went on shore, she was carried 5 German miles up a river; how the crew followed, and took out arms, powder and shot, copper and beads, with as much provisions as they could carry; how the 9 hands, the 2nd mate being drowned, remained there three days; how at the end of that period they proceeded to Natal, intending to go to the Cape; how at Natal they fell in with 5 sailors who had been wrecked in the *Good Hope* on the 17th of May, 1685.

John Kingston, of Bristol, a sailor in the *Good Hope*, says, that his ship sailed from Gravesend on the

24th of November, 1684, Old Style, manned by 50 hands, and having 6 guns; they touched at Mayo and St. Jago for salt, cattle, and water, and passing within sight of the Cape, stood direct for Rio de Natal, where they arrived on the 9th of May, 1685; on entering, and while very busy with the kedge anchor, hauling their vessel over the bar, they were driven on the north shore by a sudden squall, and seeing no chance of getting off their ship, they built a hut on shore, in which they put their merchandize—consisting of copper rings for the neck and arms, and ammunition; four sailors and a boy very soon died of dysentery, while they employed themselves in putting together a vessel which they had brought from England. In the end of July, the English ship ———, Captain — Wynnford, of 35 tons, came into the bay. He went 13 or 14 miles inland, with a party of his people, and returned with two elephant's tusks, two or three pounds' weight; and after having purchased, killed, and salted a good many oxen and cows, sailed again along the coast, intending, as it was reported, to go to Mozambique, Madagascar, and India. He was the next day followed by their Captain, Jas. Adams, of London, with his vessel, who intended to trade along the coast to 100 miles beyond Mozambique, thence proceed to Madagascar, and there to take in slaves to sell at Jamaica. Nine men went with him, four went with Wynnford, and five of them, including himself, not wishing to sail with Adams, received from him, for the wages they had earned, 68 lbs. copper arm, neck, and earrings, and 14 lbs. of beads, 7 guns in all, and some powder and lead. They five then consulted how they could best subsist, and began to barter their beads for meat, bread, beer, milk, fruits, and roots, and finding that their copper rings were much prized, they sold them for elephant's

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teeth, and in a short time they had collected, as he guessed, three tons, and at length becoming acquainted with their language, curiosity led them to examine the country, to the distance of about 50 mylen inland, where they found a very friendly and hospitable people, so that the men and women vied in offering them food and drink, and their habitations for lodging; he states that he found no minerals except a ring, which a certain chief wore on his arm, which was much heavier than a neck-ring, so that he thought it was gold, and though he offered a neck-ring in exchange, he would not part with it. Mr. MOODIE says in a Note, that the statements of WILKINS and KINGSTON are not signed and witnessed like those of the Dutch, but that the originals are in the handwriting of Secretary GRAVENBROEK.

Commentary.

These are curious and interesting particulars of the loss of the English ships *Bona Ventura*, of London, Capt. Js. GILFORD, and the *Good Hope*, Capt. ADAMS, near Natal, on the 25th of Dec., 1686, and the 9th May, 1685. A third English vessel, commanded by Capt. WYNNFORD, arrived too, shortly after the wreck of the others, all meaning apparently to trade in ivory or in slaves. But what is most interesting of the *Good Hope* is, to find the five men who had a quantity of copper rings and beads, living on such friendly terms with the natives, and receiving in barter for these things meat, bread, beer, milk, fruits, and roots, bartering at the same time their rings and beads for ivory until they had collected 3 tons. Then, curiosity leading them to see the country, travelling 50 mylen inland, whether carrying with them their seven muskets does not appear; they, however, found a very friendly and hospitable people, so that the men and women vied with one another in offering them food and drink, and their habitations for lodging. Having

once very narrowly eseaped shipwreek in the *Bark-worth*, near the same place, on the S. point of De la Goa Bay, these partieulars are the more interesting to me, for we did not know wether, if wreeked, we were not destined to be killed and eaten on shore. —*February* 16. The Kaffers. 1687, March.

Mr. Moodie says in a note that a Resolution of the 6th of Mareh authorized the purehase from the English of the *Natal Packet* and her eargo, in order that further examination may be made of the country; that the forty-seven men left by the *Stavenisse*, may be sought for, and "that the five Englishmen left their by the *Packet* may be brought hither, in order by these means, to deprive European Potentates of the possession of those countries. Two of the English sailors to be employed in the eommander's serviee with the pay of quarter-masters, and the eaptain, mate, and seamen to have as alms, blankets and baftas to eover them.

Journal eontinued.—The English ship *Providentia* arrived, 50 tons, and 15 men, bound to Madagascar for slaves; their captain, surgeon, and —— men had been lost in the surf in trying to land in Struis Bay.

For information relating to the Eastern and Northern eoasts of Afriea, see the Rev. Father Joano dos Santos' History of Eastern Ethiopia, published in Paris, 1684—Pinkerton, Fol. Ed., 1814, Vol. XVI., p. 337, &e. 1505—1506. Dos Santos' History.

We made Mozambico on the 13th of August, 1507, whenee we sailed to Sofala, the plaee where first our Portuguese eontrived to fortify themselves by stratagem, persuading the Moorish sovereign of the eountry that the building whieh they eonstructed with his permission, and which was made a place of strength, was merely intended for a warehouse to secure their merehandize from the weather and robbery.

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

JOSEPHUS, in the 1st book of his Jewish Antiquities (Lib. XV.) affirms that Africa derives its name from OPHIR, a grandson of ABRAHAM, who went into Lybia at the head of a powerful army; after fighting and overcoming his enemies he sojourned in the land, where his presence was necessary, not only to civilize the Africans, but also the Ethiopians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, by whom it was inhabited. The Carthaginians gave splendour to this quarter of the world by the strength of their immense armies, which were universally dreaded.

Africa contains many different nations deserving of notice, from the manner in which they live, and their strange and dissimilar customs—for among them are some, the Adrimachides for example, who eat not either the flesh of oxen or swine. The inhabitants of Mount Atlas feed on pulse alone. The Africans, or Lybians, support themselves commonly on milk and wild animals; and while they permit the hair to grow on the right side of the head, shave that which grows on the left. The Macas and Guidanes are entirely shorn, and wear crowns similar to the fillets of our priests. The Auses suffer the hair in front to grow over the forehead, so as to cover the face, but bare the rest of the head. The Zingantes generally dwell in forests, and subsist on honey and wild beasts; as soon as their children are capable of toil, they are taught to cultivate the ground, at which employ they are assisted by their mothers, while the fathers go to war.

Eastern Ethiopia begins at the Cape of Good Hope, and extends along the coast of the ocean and the Eastern Sea to the Red Sea. Western Ethiopia commences likewise at the Cape of Good Hope, stretches to the boundaries of Egypt on the eastern side of the peninsula of Africa, and is confined to the south by the

Ethiopia above Egypt; on the north by the borders of Lybia, embracing the country inhabited by the Troglodites, called by the Greeks pastors or wild men, owing to their perpetual residence in groves and forests, where they subsist on hunting and plunder.

The Ethiopians esteem so highly those animals on which they subsist, that at the time of circumcising their children, they give them the name of the ox, the sheep, the lion, &c., regarding these animals, from affording the means of supporting life, as coadjutors with their fathers and mothers in the existence of their offspring.

Their wives, to whom the lot is assigned of cultivating and sowing the land, are held in so much honor, that when any difference or dispute occurs between two parties, they summon the disputants before them, judge the point in question, and so perfectly, by their authority, terminates the quarrel, that nothing more is heard between the parties. In their people what is most worthy of remark is, to find men of such undaunted spirit, that they combat fearlessly with the lion and the tiger, and are so eager after reputation, as to render life no longer worth preserving when the feebleness of age restrains the exercise of their natural heroism, yet, at the same time, submissive to women. With them it is held unworthy of a manly character to be solicitous of acquisitions, the after privation of which would be followed with pain; yet, does not this opinion, by no means a barbarous one, prevent their perfect resignation to the will of their wives. Father Joano dos Santos dedicates his 2nd chapter to the manner in which the Portuguese fortified themselves at Sofala; the jealousy of the king in consequence; the war he waged against them, in the course of which he lost his life, and the Portuguese were confirmed masters of the fortress.

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

Sofala is a small maritime kingdom of Eastern Ethiopia, dependent on the sovereign of Juiteva, situate between the river Cuama and Mount Manica, in 20½ south latitude. It extends along the sea, and the banks of a river, a league in width, which flows through the country called Macarangua, by Zimobe, the capital and residence of the king of Juiteva. The king has dominion over the whole of this country as well as the river Sofala, where the inhabitants carry on uninterrupted commerce with those of Manica, who make return for the merchandize they take in gold dust. When the people of Sofala are absent on their traffic to Manica, and collecting gold, ivory, amber, and slaves, their wives cultivate the land.

The Portuguese governors, or captains-general, formerly resided six months at Mozambico, and the residue of the year at Sofala, but now they dwell altogether at Mozambico, and appoint a substitute, who governs at Sofala, and superintends the merchandize in the warehouses there. The Moorish king, whose name was Ruffe, was much surprised that the Portuguese had disembarked in 1578, without asking his permission. The expedition consisted of six large ships, under the command of Pedro de Naya, equipped by the queen, Dona Catalina, who governed a while during the minority of her grandson, Don Sebastian.

The appointed time for carrying the meditated massacre into effect being at hand, Pedro de Naya ordered his whole force under arms to await the enemy, who assailed the Portuguese in the night, at many points, and with incredible vigour, though surpassed by that evinced by the attacked; these, on this occasion, taught the Moors, at their cost, to set a high value on the courage of the nation they provoked to war; after a long conflict, overpowered by the artil-

lery and the frequent sallies of the Portuguese, they at length took to flight, in confusion, and sought refuge in the palace of their prince; but hither they were pursued by our people, at the point of the sword; and the king, who was among the fugitives, being slain, this circumstance increased the inveteracy of the Moors, who fought not only to defend themselves, but to revenge their sovereign's death. The resolution, the obstinacy of the inhabitants, was on each side equal, and victory hovered a while over either banner. Indeed, towards the close, we should have been beaten, but for the timely succour brought forward by ABEXIN; this Moor joined the Portuguese with a number of partisans, and turned the tide of the battle, and caused the complete overthrow of the enemy, but not before they had dangerously wounded PEDRO DE NAYA. ABEXIN was, in reward for the fidelity with which he had fulfilled his engagements, proclaimed king of the country; and over it he reigned many years. This sovereign was a trusty and sincere friend constantly of the Portuguese, and a great many of his fellow-countrymen, who unwillingly saw themselves obliged to submit to the dominion of the Portuguese, in lieu of that of the king of Juiteva, formerly lord of all this country. In process of time, this latter monarch was also made tributary to the crown of Portugal, which had, at an after period, no less than twenty-two kings who did homage to it for their thrones.

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

It is a great step backward from Mr. MOODIE's "The Record" in 1687 to Father JOANO DOS SANTOS' History of the operations of the Portuguese sovereignty in the Mozambique Channel in 1505—6, &c. Being desirous of taking a review of former proceedings on the frontier of the Cape colony, and searching after a copy of VALENTYN and LA VALLIANT, I was fortunate

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The Kaffers. 1687, April.

enough to hit upon a copy of the Portuguese Priest's History in the Graham's Town Library. He appears to have been one of the missionaries of the order of St. Domingo, who embarked at Lisbon in April, 1506, and arrived at Mozambico on the 13th of August following. I had no idea that there was at that time a Moorish sovereignty at Juiteva, so powerful as to offer so formidable a resistance to the Portuguese fleet of six ships of war, fitted out by Dona Catalina, and commanded by Pedro de Naya. That the Portuguese had constructed such works at Sofala, or that they had produced so complete a revolution amongst the Moorish princes whom they found there, as to depose the dynasty of the king of Juiteva, which formerly ruled as lord over all that country, to put up in its stead the traitor Abexin, who reigned over it many years, or that in process of time there were no less than twenty-two kings in that region who did homage to Portugal for their thrones.—*Feb.* 16*th.*

1505—1580. Dos Santos' History.

The priest dedicates his III. Chapter to an account of the trees and fruits which flourish throughout the whole year in the territory of Sofala. On every side are seen orange, lemon, and other curious trees; the Romeyra for example, of which fruit and flowers are seen growing at the same time in constant succession throughout the year. The vines are almost equally exuberant, for the vintages are two fold, the first in January, the other in July—pine apples resembling our peaches in flavour, but far preferable, are very numerous, and among others, the fig-trees are so heavily laden with fruit, as pleasing to the eye as they are tasteful to the palate, that the branches bend beneath their oppressive weight. Finally, the sugar-cane is cultivated along the banks of the rivers by the Kaffers, who subsist on its juice throughout the major part of the year, but who have not the ingenuity

possessed by the inhabitants of other countries of crystallizing the sweets they yield. Here the people preserve their oranges and lemons, and carry on traffic in them with the Indies, where they are eaten with rice. But, however fruitful the neighbourhood of Sofala in the offerings of Pomona, its cereal productions are so limited, that the inhabitants are constrained to make their bread half of rice and half of millet. This bread is formed into a kind of cake, not edible, except while warm, for when it becomes cold it is hard, and so dry that it cannot be swallowed, without first being soaked in a vinous preparation from millet. This extract is equally potent with the wine pressed from grapes, and is much drank by the Kaffers; but the Portuguese use a different wine, obtained, as will be seen, from the palm-tree.

If the bread and wine of these poor people be little pleasant to the taste, they are on the other hand indemnified by the abundance of meat—for their stock of oxen, cows, sheep, swine, and wild cattle, is very considerable, exclusive of every species of poultry, which is so plenteous that fifteen large fowls are bought for a butangey, a coin equal to two testoons, or about eleven pence sterling. The great plenteousness of food enables the lower orders to live very comfortably, and the rich to indulge to superfluity in all kinds of provision.

Besides the art of softening their bread, the Kaffers have discovered means of making a substitute for butter, which they use as a substitute for boiled rice. They extract this butter from the cakes of pressed gergelins, whence previously oil had been expressed; this oil serves better for burning than olive oil, and is used as an unguent for all kinds of wounds. To secure a provision for butter and oil, therefore, every individual lays in a stock of gergelins.

The Kaffers. 1505—1580. Commentary.

Santos has, indeed, given us matter for deep reflection, in the third chapter of his history. We find abundance of fruit trees and flowers at Sofala—orange, pine apples, and figs—and the people carrying on a traffic in preserved oranges and lemons with the Indies. The Kaffers cultivating the sugar-cane along the banks of the rivers, and living on the juice through the greater part of the year—although they did not know how to crystallize, or make sugar of the sweet which the sugar-cane yielded; also making bread of their rice and millet,—baking what the people of India call chapatties, or cakes, and eating them hot as they do—dipping their chapatties in wine pressed from the grape, "which is much drank by the Kaffers," whilst the Portuguese obtain their wine from the palm or date-tree. The Kaffers had, too, abundance of meat from their flocks of oxen, cows, sheep, swine, and wild cattle; and poultry so abundant that fifteen large fowls are bought for a butangey, a coin equal to about eleven pence; whether of gold or silver, Santos does not say; food was so plentiful that the lower orders lived with every comfort, whilst the rich indulged to superfluity in all kinds of provision. The Kaffers had, too, discovered a substitute for butter, which they used as sauce for their boiled rice; this substitute they extracted from cakes of pressed gergelins, from which an oil had before been expressed, better for burning than olive oil, and used as an unguent for all kinds of wounds. To secure a supply of butter and oil, every person laid in a stock of gergelins.

There cannot, of course, be the least doubt that the aborigines of Sofala were called Kaffers by the Mahommedan conquerors of their country, and not by the Portuguese priest. Whether they originally were possessed of all the comforts and arts which he

aseribes to them, or whether these things were the result of the Mahommedan eonquest and colonization of Sofala, SANTOS does not say. If the latter, the Mahommedans did far more for their subjects in the Mozambique Channel, than the Christians have done for the aborigines a little farther south; but, at all events, they seem to have left them in possession of their lands, and of all the eomforts of life.—*Feb.* 16*th.*

In his fourth chapter, SANTOS gives an account of the manner in whieh the king of Juiteva takes possession of his dominions, and the mode of his giving audience; of the prevalent custom of the country, aeeording to whieh all the wives and concubines of the king devote themselves to death upon his elosing his life.

The name of Juiteva is common to the sovereign lord of the country bordering on the river Sofala, which, at his aecession to that dignity, he assumes to the exclusion of the titles he might before have been known by, this dignity, in the esteem of the people, placing him on a par with the Deity; indeed, the Kaffers acknowledge no other gods than their monarch, and to him they address those prayers which other nations are wont to address to heaven. The Juiteva maintains a number of wives, the ehief of whom are his near relations, and are denominated his queens; the residue, by whom also he has ehildren, are regarded merely as his eoncubines; from this eireumstance, when he dies, a great eonfusion is created in nominating his sueeessor. The new queen is eommonly seleeted from among those of his ehildren who are the offspring of his own daughters or sisters; with these near relations he has exclusively the privilege of cohabiting, the laws of the eountry forbidding in an express manner, his subjects from intermarrying with their sisters or daughters, under penalty of death.

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

If the women of whom I speak, on the one hand, enjoy the favor and countenance of the king during his life, they are on the other, obliged to give themselves up to death when he happens to die; for this purpose, that they may be constantly ready to accompany him in case of his suddenly expiring, they are always provided with a dose of poison. The erroneous persuasion of the princes and vassals of this country that this mortal life is succeeded by another, in which still higher rank awaits the great, than they have enjoyed in this world, occasions those whom the more powerful, on account of their being of opposite parties, make the victims of their interest, to submit with joy to their fate, in hopes to be courtiers to the king in another world.

As soon as the Juiteva ceases to live, a successor is chosen, capable of governing with wisdom and prudence; commonly for this purpose his oldest son by the royal blood is selected;—and should he fail in the requisite qualifications, the next oldest, and thus in succession to the rest; and when among the whole it chances to happen that not one adequate to the high post is found, his successor is the minister to whom the defunct was accustomed to impart his secrets. This rule of succession is not, however, so strictly followed but that some deviations from it occasionally take place.

Thus, for example, when I was at Sofala, the Juiteva died, and left upwards of thirty children, legitimate and illegitimate, still not one of them was nominated to succeed him on the throne, but the brother of the deceased, who, to a thorough knowledge of the affairs of the state, joined all the qualifications necessary for a governor; and, indeed, should he be deficient in this respect, it would be enough that a majority of the king's concubines should join in his

favor, as on these the possession of the throne depends.

As soon as the Juiteva is dead he is buried with his predecessor, and after his obsequies are terminated, on the succeeding day his successor repairs to the royal palace, where he meets with some of the concubines of the late king, (for it is only those most beloved and in whom he was wont to place the utmost confidence, that take poison on his dying,) and with their consent he seats himself on a throne prepared for him in a large hall; when seated here, a curtain is drawn before him and his wives; thence he issues orders for his proclamation through the streets; this is the signal for the people to flock to render him homage and obedience, a ceremony which is performed amid great rejoicings.

The officers and soldiers belonging to his guard, in the meantime, place themselves at the gates, and prevent the entrance of more than sufficient to fill the hall, that no disturbance or confusion may take place. At first, those admitted prostrate themselves on their knees, and thus advance to the throne one after another, when they address the monarch, he remaining constantly behind the curtain, without exposing himself to public view, until every one that has entered has done him homage; after this has been effected, each, according to the custom of the country, shakes hands with the Juiteva, and retires. He again places himself behind the curtain till the hall is once more filled, and the ceremony is again repeated; in this manner the whole day passes in receiving homage. The next the king sends his ambassadors to publish the death of the late prince, and the peaceable installation in his stead of the new sovereign.

So great is the respect the Kaffers show their king, that on being permitted to his presence they never

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presume to look him in the face, or front him; but withdrawing on one side, they keep their eyes constantly bent on the ground, and never speak to him but on their knees. The Portuguese alone are allowed the privilege of addressing him standing; they otherwise follow the example of the Kaffers, and at intervals clap their hands as a token of joy.

When all have been admitted to the presence, and the levee is finished, the king causes wine, extracted from millet, and called pombé, to be presented to the whole of the company. Should it happen that any one, from apprehension, should object to drink the proffered beverage, the refusal is regarded as an act of disrespect by the Juiteva, and the individual guilty of such ill manners, is ordered not to quit the town except with his permission, which, as it is never granted, causes the delinquent to be thus consigned to perpetual imprisonment.

Commentary.

The Portuguese priest has in this single chapter (the 4th) of his history of the people of Sofala, whom he calls Kaffers, given us a greater insight into their manners and institutions than I find of any one tribe in the 420 pages of the Dutch records which I have been abridging and commenting upon. It is curious to find that the title Juiteva is common to the sovereign lord, that on his accession he assumes that title to the exclusion of those which he may before have possessed; and that his dignity is esteemed by the people as being on a par with that of the Deity; the Kaffers acknowledging no other god, and that to their monarch they address those prayers which other nations proffer to heaven. That the Juiteva's chief wives, or queens, are his near relations; that he marries his own sisters and daughters, and that the successor is chosen from amongst their children; whilst his subjects are punishable with death by the

laws for marrying their sisters and daughters. The women who most enjoy the favour and countenance of the king, are obliged, on his death, to give themselves up to death likewise, not by fire, but by poison, and thus that they may become courtiers about their king, and enjoy still higher rank in the world which is to come. Then the successor of most wisdom and prudence is to be chosen from amongst his sons, taking each in succession from the eldest. Should neither be qualified, then the successor is the minister who was most in the confidence of the deceased Juiteva.

Whilst Santos was at Sofala, the Juiteva died, leaving upwards of thirty children, legitimate and illegitimate, yet the brother succeeded,—who, to a knowledge of state affairs, added all the qualifications necessary for a ruler. Indeed, should he be deficient in this respect, it would be enough that a majority of the king's concubines elected him, as on these the possession of the throne depends. The reverend father probably designates all but one wife concubines, but as most of them were the sisters or daughters of the deceased Juiteva, there is an appearance as if the succession ran in the female and not in the male line, amongst the sovereigns of Sofala, a practice which is well known to obtain amongst the Tiertnees of Malabar, who lie in nearly the same latitude N., as Sofala does S., across the Indian Ocean.

The Juiteva is buried with his predecessor, and on the following day, his successor repairs to the palace, and with the consent of some of the least favoured of the late king's wives, the most favoured having already drank the poisoned cup, he seats himself on the throne, prepared for him in the centre of a large hall; a curtain is then drawn before him and his wives, probably the widows of the late Juiteva, in this instance the brother of the successor. He issues orders that

his accession should be proclaimed in the streets, and the people assemble to do homage and swear allegiance, a ceremony which is performed amid great rejoicings.

The officers and soldiers place themselves at the gate, and admit, apparently without distinction, as many as the hall will contain—each person kneels, and advances, individually, in this posture towards the throne, addressing the monarch, who remains behind the curtain until every one has done homage; when all have done so, each, according to the custom of the country, shakes hands with his new sovereign and retires. He again places himself behind the curtain until the hall is once more filled; the same ceremony is gone through again and again, until the day is passed by the sovereign in receiving the homage of his people. On the following day, the king sends forth his ambassadors to proclaim the death of the late prince, and his own peaceable installation.

The respect of the Kaffers for their king is so great that they never presume to look him in the face, or to front him—in withdrawing they sidle out, keeping their eyes constantly bent on the ground—and they never speak to him but on their knees. The Portuguese alone had the privilege of addressing the Juiteva in an erect posture; but in other respects they followed the example of the Kaffers, clapping their hands at intervals in token of joy. The levee finishes after all have been admitted to the presence, with wine, (the juice of the millet, called pombé) which the king causes to be presented to all. The person refusing, from apprehension, to drink, is regarded to have insulted the Juiteva, and is forbidden, without his permission, to quit the town, which permission is never granted.

These are curious particulars, and smack more of

eastern manners than of any thing I have heard of in Africa. They are certainly neither Mahommedan nor Hindoo, and have more the appearance of coming from Tartary or China, to which countries I think it has been attempted to trace the origin of some of the tribes of South Africa; at least the Rev. Mr. Read, of Philipton, told me so. Some one better acquainted with the native tribes than I can pretend to be, can surely say to which family the people of Sofala belong. They were, of course, called Kaffers by their Mahommedan conquerors, although to what extent they had established their conquest over that country in the beginning of the 16th Century, I do not know.—*February* 16.

Chapter V.—Of the ceremonies observed in causing one of the children of the late king to be placed on the throne—of the civil wars occasioned by such successions, and the custom usual with the Juiteva of devoting himself to death in case of any natural defect.

Out of such a multiplicity of wives and sons—the widows all standing in near relationship to the deceased sovereign, it may be readily supposed that there must be a constant struggle for succession; and that out of this, constant intrigue and frequent disturbance must ensue. We find each widow accordingly endeavouring by presents and promises to increase the number of her adherents. All the princes are educated at a distance from the palace, and none can come to court without the express consent of the king; when once admitted the pretensions of the young prince are regarded as indisputable,—whilst it is criminal in any competitor to attempt to enter the palace without permission, and the claim of succession is thereby forfeited. There is another prince called Sedanda, whose dominions are contiguous to those

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of Juiteva. Sedanda was afflicted with leprosy, and conceiving his malady incurable, and fearing that it would render him loathsome in the eyes of his people, he resolved to take poison—for he was of opinion that sovereigns should serve in all things as an example to their people, and that they ought to have no defect whatever, even in their persons, for that then they cease to be worthy of governing their dominions and of life—and Sedanda preferred death in compliance with this law rather than to live and rule with the reproach of having violated the law. Another Juiteva, however, who had lost a front tooth, felt no disposition to follow the example of his predecessor, but told his people that this accident had happened in order that beholding they might recognize him. He declared that he was resolved to live and reign as long as he could, for that he deemed his existence to be necessary for the welfare of his subjects. He, at the same time, condemned the practice of his predecessors, considered them imprudent or mad for condemning themselves to death for casual accidents to their persons; he considered that no reasonable being, much less a monarch, ought to anticipate the scythe of time—and abrogating the mortal law, he ordained that all his successors, if sane, should follow the precedent he gave, and the new law established by him.

A Sedanda, who was named successor by a Juiteva, attempted on his death to enter the palace and to seat himself among the women, supposing that they would, according to custom, receive him. But they commenced an intrigue for his exclusion, imputed to him many imperfections, and objected to his entering the palace; hoping to conciliate them he suffered the night to pass without offering the slightest umbrage. He again presented himself on the following day, but

met with still greater resistance, and was obliged to retire. Another prince was summoned by the women, who came, seated himself among the women, and assumed the throne. The Sedanda who was thus supplanted, resented the affront, and sought for vengeance by a resort to arms. His friends and partisans promised support, and as they were mere courtiers who only looked to improve their own fortunes by his success, and as by having recourse to arms, they would violate the law and be guilty of treason, they no sooner heard that the rival prince had been proclaimed king, and that he had peaceable possession of the crown, than they abandoned the unfortunate Sedanda to his fate, and he was obliged to fly for safety to the territories of his neighbours.

The king, when acknowledged legal possessor of the throne, summons all his grandees to repair to court, to assist in breaking the bow of the deceased Juiteva—which bow had been made at the period of his accession. This aggregation of the nobles is a stratagem used by the new sovereign to enable him to rid himself of his enemies, for under pretence of making a court in the other world for the deceased, he causes those grandees to be assassinated who are obnoxious to him, that they may attend that monarch —and he gives the posts which they enjoyed to such as possess his own favor. Those inimical to the new king do not, however, obey the summons, and in this they are imitated by all who may have objected to his nomination, and all retire to the dominions of some neighbouring prince, where they pass the remainder of their days.

There is much in this fifth chapter relating to the manners and institutions of the Sofala sovereignty which appears to me to be of Asiatic or Tartar, rather than of African origin, although doubtless in such an

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enormous extent of country, and amongst such a variety of tribes and people, as SANTOS describes, there must be a corresponding variety in their customs and institutions—for these things suit themselves or are adapted to the circumstances or the climate in which man lives, whether he be a civilized being or a barbarian. The Juiteva sovereignty appears, from what we can collect from SANTOS' imperfect views, to have been a feudalism of a less perfect character than that which has existed amongst the Rajpoot princes of India through all ages, and as we find still existing. The Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, in his history of India, has said that however reluctant to call Asiatic institutions by European names, he has found it impossible to avoid drawing a comparison between the feudal institutions of Europe and those of Rajpootana. The same thing may be said of the Mahommedan sovereignties of Central Asia, Cabool, Baloochestan, Bokhara, Herat, &c. There is of course great variety of usage and institution in so wide a range of country and in tribes so dissimilar in manners, living in such different climates. But there is no escaping from the impression that they are all feudal chiefships or sovereignties. Indeed, this appears to be the natural form of government in a comparatively rude state of society. If a tribe emigrates bodily from one country to another, and forms a new conquest, a share of the conquered territory is almost necessarily given to leaders of divisions or kraals, in proportion to the strength of their respective following. The subordinate feudal chief is again obliged to make a territorial provision for the chief men of his division, until the whole conquest is cut up into sections, every member of the feudal body owing either money payments, or payments in kind or service to the real feudal lord; although many of the people make their payments or afford their service

through subordinate chiefs. In Europe we find that those subordinate chiefs or barons have often proved too powerful for the throne, and then commences the system of establishing commercial or manufacturing corporations, as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, which, in process of time, reduces all to a condition of subordination to the laws. But this is necessarily a slow operation, for a powerful conservative body exists, which will seek to maintain its own, either in the field or in the senate. Feudalism may, of course, arise long after conquest, by the division of territory amongst the king's sons, and by the nobles amongst their sons. But, however it arises, we find that all over India feudal states have a permanence and stability which do not belong to despotic monarchies; and for these reasons that the head of the feudalism in his great capital is a centre towards which all the minor chiefs and all the subordinate chiefs radiate. The subordinate chiefs have, too, their castles or strong holds—and each has an object and interest in the defence of his neighbour, for the downfall of one is likely to lead to the downfall of another, until the whole feudal monarchy crumbles to pieces; neither is the conquest generally worth having, for the conqueror could only claim the sovereign's share, sometimes not a fourth of the whole—all the other shares being considered private property—all the other shareholders would undoubtedly combine against the usurper, and render his capital too hot to hold him unless supported by power from without. In this manner we find that some of the Rajpoot principalities of India have endured through a thousand years—Oudeepoor, Joudpoor, Jeypoor, and others—whilst the empire of Delhi itself has been lost—so has the sovereignty raised up by Dowlet Rao Scindia, that which Hyder Ally, his son Tippoo

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Sultan, and almost a thousand others have endeavoured to raise up.

This may appear an absurd digression, but there is no escaping from the impression that the dynasty of the Juiteva, as described by Father Santos, was of a feudal character, and that the neighbouring Sedandas were the feudal chiefs. Santos says that "in process of time the king of Juiteva was made tributary to the crown of Portugal, which had, at an after period, no less than twenty-two kings who did homage to it for their thrones." This looks very like the downfall of a feudal monarch, whose feudal chiefs would necessarily do homage to the crown to which he himself had become tributary. I once heard the principal feudal monarch in India, the late Maharaja Maun Singh, of Joudpoor, who was fond of a parable or a simile, illustrate the character of a feudal sovereignty—by comparing the sovereign's position to that of the pole of a single-poled tent, which was the centre and support of the whole; the chiefs, he considered, the pegs, to which the tent ropes were tied, each at a distance from the other, giving its support; the downfall of either, he said, tended to weaken the structure; but so long as the four great corner supports stood, the pole, he said, was not likely to fall. The downfall of the pole, his own downfall, would destroy the whole fabric.

What appears to be peculiar in the domestic manners of the House of Juitevas, was the marriage of sisters and daughters, privileges denied to others; that the chief was worshipped in place of the Deity by the Kaffers; that the most favoured amongst the wives, on becoming widows, sacrificed themselves, not by fire, but by poison, on the death of the king, in order to form his court in the world which is to come; that the succession, commencing with the eldest son,

descended through the family, until the person possessing the necessary wisdom and prudence should be reached. If none such appeared amongst the sons, then the minister who had been most in the king's confidence, and who was probably one of the royal family, was elected. There is an appearance, too, as if the heir was chosen from the female, rather than the male line, as is the case amongst some tribes on the opposite coast of Malabar. The election of the sovereign appears to be in the hands of the least favoured among the wives of the late monarch, for they only had not sacrificed themselves. They appear to have shut themselves up in the palace; the aspirant for power presented himself at the palace door; and, if admitted, took his seat on a throne with the widows, whose husband he became. The election appears then to have been complete, and he was accordingly proclaimed sovereign in the streets of the kraal or city. The subjects, apparently without distinction of rank, were then admitted to the number which the room would hold—each then advanced in turn and on his knees, to the curtain, behind which the newly-elected sovereign was placed with the ladies, to do homage to the throne; when this ceremony had been completed, the curtain was withdrawn, each shook hands with his sovereign separately, and the whole assembly withdrew beyond the guards. The room was again filled, and the same ceremony was repeated, until the inauguration day closed upon the scene. The respect of the Kaffers for their king is so great, Santos says, that none of his subjects look him in the face, nor even spoke to him, except in a kneeling posture; the Portuguese only addressing the Juiteva in an erect posture. These are more Tartar or Chinese than Asiatic court ceremonies. It is, too, a curious law amongst them which rendered disease, or deformity of

body, a sufficient bar to inheritance, or which rendered abdication necessary. This also is to some extent a law or usage among the Hindoos. The court held by the new monarch for the purpose of breaking the bow of the deceased Juiteva, which seems to have been the emblem of his office, since it is the bow which was made on his accession—for the purpose also of putting to death, (and thus re-forming, in another world, the court of his predecessor) all those amongst his grandees who were hostile to him, or who opposed his election, and that he might fill up their vacant places, is something new, I think. But as it was optional with the grandees to attend, and those who did not choose to do so, had the alternative of retiring to the dominion of some neighbouring prince, where they might pass their days—few of the opposition, it may be supposed, would show themselves at the first court held by their new sovereign.—*February* 17.

Chapter VI.—Of the excesses of the Kaffers every year on occasion of the anniversary of the funeral obsequies of the king's predecessors; how at these times the king suffers himself to be visibly imposed upon by a sorcerer, who counterfeits the voice of the last defunct monarch; and of the esteem this engenders for him among the people.

The king every year, on the appearance of the new moon in the month of September, repairs to a mountain covered with forest called Zemboe, which is the place of sepulture of the kings. By a convocation of all his courtiers, and others who flock hither from every part to be present at the ceremonies used on the occasion of the celebration of the obsequies of the kings, he pretends to afford comfort to the souls of his predecessors; as, however, the ceremonies chiefly consist of excesses, it is by no means wonderful these

monarchs should persist in their errors; they bewail the dead by dint of drinking, and desist from leaping and dancing then only, when fatigue obliges them to cease. The order of this anniversary is as follows:— On the appointed day they repair to the mountain, and in the forest find materials for feasting already prepared; here they eat and drink so plenteously, that throughout the week these orgies last, no one knows his companion. The king, who excites the company to drink, prides himself on being the best and greatest toper of the assemblage; but the most diverting part of the scene is to see a troop of people drunk with wine, and scarcely able to stand, so mad as to exhibit a mock engagement.— For this purpose they divide themselves into two parties, one opposite to the other, their bows in their hands, from which they incessantly discharge flights of arrows into the air as signals of rejoicing; now they advance towards each other like two battalions about to engage—now strive each party to break through the ranks of the one opposed, mingling in a pleasing manner their forces, and playing off a number of manœuvres. Those who remain on the field of battle are acknowledged the most valiant, and bear away the prize set aside for these gambols; but the adjudgment, it will readily be conceived, is not always the most correct, nor can those who best sustained the shock at all times be rightly considered the bravest, as the conflict is between men so deeply intoxicated as not to know their next companion.

The feasting terminated, the king and all his courtiers prepare for three days to bewail the death of their former kings; after this period a demon enters into a Kaffer sorcerer, and so well imitates the voice of the king whose obsequies are celebrated, that every one is deceived, and imagines that it is the soul of

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the king from the other world, returned to teach the reigning prince how to govern his people, which speaks. The king now advances to confer with the sorcerer; every one prostrates himself; and after other marks of respect for the soul of the prince, all retire and leave the king têtê-a-têtê with the man possessed, who not only imitates the voice of the deceased king, but speaks in all kinds of languages, if required, and holds conversation with the monarch with the same familiarity a father would with his son who might interrogate him on what is to happen in his kingdom. The demon pretends to unfold the future, declares whether or no war will take place, and if the living king shall prevail or be vanquished; whether his subjects shall revolt; and many other familiar things, in which divers impostures are dealt; and notwithstanding the king is aware of the cheat, he nevertheless annually continues the farce, on account of the profit he derives from it in presents made on the occasion; and the esteem this mock conference nourished for him in the minds of the people; those regarding him as the favorite of the souls of the dead, and believing he holds converse with them when he will; that he learns from them, as oracles, whatever passes in his dominions, and is instructed thus in the rule of government he should follow.

It is not only at Sofala that recourse is had to demons, the like practice is common in China.—Father Mendoza, in his history of that country, relates those gentile barbarians to be accustomed to address themselves to demons, with whom they hold converse at pleasure; he even adduces an instance to this effect; on sailing from China to the Philippines in a Chinese junk, so dreadful a tempest arose that all on board gave themselves up for lost. The Chinese at this time began invoking their demons; the which

perceiving, the monks on board addressed their prayers to heaven, and these prevented the effect of the incantations of the Chinese, and as the infidels were solicitous of knowing why they received no succour when in such pressing need, and wherefore so far from their danger diminishing, as often before had been the case, it increased, the demons, though they alone were the authors of the lie, were constrained to acknowledge the truth of the case, confessing they were unable to effect any thing owing to the prayers of the monks on board; a confession, however, which put these servants of God in danger of being assassinated every instant by the Chinese, and cast into the sea.

Commentary.

This is a highly interesting historical narrative of the ceremonies performed by the king Juiteva, or the king of Juiteva, and his Kaffer subjects, on the new moon of September of every year. The mountain Zemboe, the place of sepulture of the kings of Sofala, is of course in the immediate neighbourhood of that city, or town, or kraal. The king, the nobles, and the people from all parts appear to have assembled in a forest at the tombs of their departed sovereigns, whom through life they had been accustomed to reverence as beings of a superior order, that the ruling sovereign might afford comfort to the souls of his predecessors. It appears to have been a kind of saturnalia, where food and drink were prepared at the public cost, and where all ate, drank, danced, and sung—the orgies continuing throughout a week, until at last no one knew his companion. It does not appear whether women joined in these orgies, but the king excited the others to drink, and prided himself on being the greatest toper among them. Whilst drunk with wine and scarcely able to stand, the most diverting part, Santos says, of the scene

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was to see a mock combat in which the assembly, bows in hand, formed into equal parts, discharged incessantly flights of arrows in the air in token of rejoicing—now charging, then retiring, mingling their forces, and playing off a number of manœuvres.—Those who remained firmest on the mock field of battle bearing off the palm. The priest questions however whether the prizes were fairly distributed by men so drunk as not to know their next neighbour. Then, the feasting ended, the king and his courtiers proceed to bewail, for three days, the death of their former kings; a demon enters into a Kaffer sorcerer, and he so well imitates the voice of the last king, whose obsequies all are celebrating, that every one supposes that it is the soul of the king which speaks, returned from the other world to teach the reigning prince how to govern his people. The king at this juncture advances to consult with the sorcerer—the assembly fall prostrate, and exhibit other tokens of respect for the soul of the departed prince—then all retire and leave the king with the man possessed of a demon, who continues to imitate the voice of the deceased king, and to speak in all kinds of languages, if required—holding converse with the monarch as familiarly as a father would with a son who was interrogating him respecting passing events in his kingdom. The demon pretends to unfold the future, declares whether there is to be war or peace in the land; and if the former, whether the reigning sovereign is to conquer or be vanquished; whether his subjects shall revolt, with many other things in which, the good priest observes, divers impostures are dealt. The king, although aware of the cheat, has the farce repeated every year on the new moon of September, preferring darkness to light, because he receives offerings during the festival from his subjects, and because his majesty's mock

conference with the man possessed of the demon has a tendency to impress his people with reverence for his own decrees; since they believe that he is in high favor with the souls of the dead, and that he holds converse with them at his option, having from these oracles all worldly secrets, and governing according to their councils.

On this, SANTOS piously crossing himself, observes, that it is not at Sofala alone that such incantations are practised—and relates the story as told by Father MENDOZA, in his history of China, of how the gentile barbarians of that country hold converse, at their pleasure, with demons. The good father himself, it seems, when on a voyage from China to the Philippine Islands in a junk, narrowly escaped being thrown overboard during a typhoon, because the prayers addressed to heaven by the monks on board, were believed by the gentile barbarians, their shipmates, to counteract the invocations which they made to their demons to cease the winds and waves. MAKOMA, the son of GAIKA, the chief of the Amakose tribe of Kaffers, happened to be with me just after I had read this chapter of SANTOS' history, and I endeavoured to ascertain from the fine intelligent old man whether such ceremonies prevail among the Kaffers in the present day. I fear that I did not very clearly make myself understood, although the Kaffer interpreter spoke pretty good English. I was more successful in my inquiries touching the opprobrious term Kaffer, which is used to designate his race. He said that it was no term of theirs, but that it had been given to them by Europeans. He said that he himself was an Amakos, and that his two wives, who sat on his left hand, belonged to other tribes, one of them being a Tambookie. I told MAKOMA that a Mahommedan servant of mine, with a fine black beard, who happened to be giving us

a glass of wine, would, as a term of reproach, call him a Kaffer, call me a Kaffer, and call all men Kaffers who did not believe in the God which he worshipped. MAKOMA was very solicitous to know where the God of the Mahommedans was to be found, and when I told him that he must ask SEYUD JAFFER, for that their God was not my God, he said that he would summon the servant to his resting place, and enter on the inquiry immediately. Capt. STRETCH had been good enough to procure for me a double-barrelled fowling piece, to be presented to MAKOMA. I fear it is hardly worthy of the fine old chief of the Amakose, for Capt. STRETCH told me that he had seen him bring down a bird on the wing with a ball. He examined the gun very minutely—thanked me for it with all the grace and politeness which General JANSSENS and Professor LICHTENSTEIN describe to have belonged to his father GAIKA. In sending away the gun MAKOMA expressed regret that the English should be so suspicious of the Kaffers as to desire to prevent their obtaining fire-arms,—observing, with that shrewdness for which the Kaffers are so remarkable, and for which he is remarkable beyond his countrymen—that when people were friends, they would use arms in one another's defence, and not for their destruction.—*February* 17.

Chapter VII.—Of the observance on the part of the Kaffers of certain festivals, during which no labour is followed, and of the punishment inflicted by them on a Portuguese, on occasion of his killing a calf on one of those sacred days; of the twenty-seven paradises they expect to find in another world, and the chastisement they will have to endure in one of the thirteen hells they imagine to exist.

It is not without reason the Kaffers are regarded as one of the most wicked and barbarous nations upon

earth, for they are perfectly ignorant of all things necessary to salvation. They are without religion; have neither temples nor altars; offer no sacrifices; have no ministers of worship, nor images representing a divinity; though they have a confused idea, the result of natural instinct, which internally admonishes them of the existence of some preternatural principle. They hence acknowledge a God, who, both in this and in the world to come they fancy measures retribution for the good and evil done in this. They likewise believe in the existence of twenty-seven paradises, where every one enjoys a pleasure proportionate to the merits of his life. They do not conceive that animals act from pure instinct, but allowing them a reasonable faculty, hold them alike amenable with man to reward and punishment, and assign them a special seat of bliss, to which the soul of Kaffers will have access, those only excepted, who, notwithstanding they believe in a great God, whom they call Molungo, have yet passed their lives in wickedness; these, they fancy, will be condemned to a privation from the sight of his holy presence, and suffer torment in one of the thirteen hells they admit, each proportionate to the evil they have done. These opinions are traditions handed down from father to son, as they have no other testimonies, and refrain from learning to read or write; yet are they firmly persuaded of the truth of these mere traditions; they believe implicitly that monkeys were formerly human beings, endowed with reasoning faculties equal to those of the human species, and that even they are dumb merely from apprehension that if they should talk they would be made to work. Though convinced of the existence of a Deity, they neither adore nor pray to him, but address themselves wholly to their sovereigns, through whose intercession with heaven,

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as they hold him to be capable of conversing with the souls of the dead, they look to obtain whatever they require. The Padre goes on to describe how the king never grants audience to such of his subjects as come empty handed; how they, believing that their king is a deity, waste their substance on him; prostrate at his feet they implore him for rain or fair weather, according to their necessities; also, in case of winds, storms, and every thing they would either deprecate or implore. The king, although convinced that such things depend on a great God, lord of heaven and earth, returns an answer couched in general terms, desiring them to go home, that he will reflect on what they ask, and use his best efforts to mitigate their sufferings. If, after a short time, their wishes should not be fulfilled, then to return to him again, for that it afforded him pleasure to listen to the complaints of his people, and to be employed in procuring a remedy as ample as his power admitted of. Instead of attributing falls of rain, or fair weather, winds or calms, to the great Molungo, the people ascribe these things to their king, from the facility he possesses of communicating with the souls of their kings. He profits by their ignorance and superstition, which he promotes by a variety of illusive practices.

The best informed among the people told Santos that heaven was inhabited by God alone; that the blest had for their abode certain delightful spots, where they enjoyed three times thrice three times told, that portion of enjoyment they had experienced in this life; that the souls of men were imperishable; and that the joys of future life vastly exceed whatever can be known on earth. These opinions lead the pious priest to entertain a belief that many among them enjoyed a knowledge of pure religion, and this he thinks is corroborated not only by their creed, respect-

ing the immortality of the soul, but by their observance of festivals with a strictness which might put Christians to the blush. He illustrates this by showing that a Portuguese merchant, who, with his people, was travelling from Sofala to Zemboe, was obliged by stress of weather to remain during a festival in the town of Juiteva, and who, in ignorance of the law, slaughtered an ox for himself and his slaves. The Juiteva, on hearing of this, was exceedingly angry that a Portuguese should presume to violate so sacred a day, and for the crime committed against the great Molungo, and decreed that neither the Portuguese nor his slaves should eat of the ox, but that it should remain in his house till such time as the Musimo, or saint of the day, whose festival it was, should come and consume it; although the ox's carcase became putrid, to the great inconvenience of the Portuguese, (who, too, was by the king's express orders to remain in the house,) and although the whole town was exposed to infection from the putrefaction of the animal, yet neither presents nor entreaties would induce this barbarous king to alter his decree against the man who had profaned the sanctity of the day.

Commentary.

Dos Santos gives more information regarding the religion of the Kaffers at the beginning of the sixteenth century, than perhaps most persons on the borders of Kafferland could give at the present day. Their religion then appears to have been rather a pure Deism; they had neither temples, altars, nor images; had no ministers of religion, and offered no sacrifices; they believed in a God, who, both in this world and in the next, measured retribution according to the good and evil done in this world; they believed in twenty-seven paradises, where every one would enjoy pleasure proportionate to the merits of his life. They appear to have assigned to animals higher faculties than we do, not

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considering that they act from pure instinct, but from a reasonable faculty, holding them alike amenable with man to reward and punishment, assigning them a special seat of bliss, to which the souls of all Kaffers will have access, excepting those who believing in Molungo, the great God, have yet passed their lives in wickedness; they believe that these will be deprived of the sight of his holy presence; and, in proportion to the evil they have done, that they will suffer torment in one of the thirteen hells. These are traditions handed down from father to son,—and although they have no written testimonies, and refrain from learning to read or write, they are firmly persuaded of the truth of these traditions. Though convinced of the existence of a Deity, they neither adore nor pray to him, but address themselves to their sovereign, hoping to obtain through his intercession with heaven whatever they require; from their believing that he holds converse with the souls of the dead, they prostrate themselves at the feet of the king, imploring him to intercede with heaven for rain, for fair weather, to allay winds and storms; and every thing they would either deprecate or implore. The best informed among the Kaffers believe that heaven is inhabited by God alone; that certain delightful spots were the abode of the blest; that the souls of men are imperishable; and that the joys of the future life vastly exceed whatever can be known on earth. These opinions, Dos Santos thinks, afford ground for believing that at some former period many among the Kaffers enjoyed a knowledge of the true religion; and that this is corroborated not only by their creed, respecting the immortality of the soul, but also by their observance of occasional festivals, with a strictness which might put Christians to the blush. The Kaffers, Dos Santos says, implicitly believe that monkeys

have formerly been human beings, endowed with reasoning faculties, equal to those of the human species, and that even now they are dumb, merely from apprehension that if they should talk they would be made to work. If this belief obtained among the Kaffers in their light and enjoyable pastoral labours, what must they think now that Europeans have introduced ploughs and spades among them. We have seen that in Van der Stell's journey into Amaqualand, people feigned to be dumb, and remained mute for long periods.—*February 18th.*

Chapter VIII.—Of the title, given by the Kaffers to the Juiteva, esteemed by us injurious, and which, with them, are looked upon as honorable distinctions, and of the manner of proceeding upon trials.

The Juiteva has 3 or 400 men for his guards, who are called Inficies, that is to say, butchers or executioners, who faithfully execute his orders on those whom their sovereign condemns to death. Indeed, their mere appearance occasions terror, for with them they carry all the instruments requisite for the prompt execution of their duty, according to the sentence pronounced, and without any form or process they behead, hang, or otherwise put to death on the spot, whomsoever the king condemns; on this account all avoid coming in their way as much as possible, lest they should be the subject of their orders, or the victim of their error or indignation. Previous to performing an office enjoined them, they assemble round the palace of the king, crying aloud "Inhama, Inhama," words that signify they are about to put some one to death. With this object in view they carry a long cord round their necks, and another round their waist, for taking those with who are condemned; when they have in one hand a cutlass, and in the other a large club, it is a signal of some one being to

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be beheaded. As soon as the criminal is apprehended they give him a heavy blow on the head with a club, which, felling him to the ground, they immediately fall upon him and cut off his head. There are other Kaffers who are likewise attendants on the king, and are called Murembes. These surround the palace and sing the praise of the king, whom they term lord of the sun and moon, king of the earth, of mountains, woods, and forests, the conqueror of his enemies, great in all things, the great sorcerer, the great thief, the great lion, giving him also the name of other beasts, names which are not considered injurious, provided they are accompanied by the designation great. When the king travels to any part also he is accompanied by musicians who sing his praise. Of these people the king makes use for carrying his orders when requisite, and wherever they pass, all are emulous of entertaining them in the best possible manner, and of making them the most valuable presents. If any thing attracts their fancy, they give a hint of its being theirs first, but if the possessor should not of himself be so complaisant to present it to them, they are impudent enough to seize upon it without any daring to resist them; so far from it, every one esteems himself fortunate provided he should have any thing worthy of acceptance. Sometimes, indeed, they are guilty of outrage on individuals to possess themselves of their property, and at others they meet with people who resist their depredations and oblige them to undergo one of the three following ordeals for discovering the truth before the judge.

The modes of administering justice on them, by what are termed oaths, but which are frightful processes; the first consists in swallowing poison without ill consequences; the second, in licking a bar of red hot iron; and the third, in swallowing bitter

water without inconvenience. The first of these oaths, or ordeals, is termed by the Kaffers Sucasse; a vase full of poison is presented to the person, who, by oath, is to purge himself of a crime with which he is charged, and who is assured that it will do him no harm provided he be innocent,—but, also, provided he be guilty, and conceal the truth, that it will surely prove his death. The dread of this trial often induces criminals to confess the deeds they are charged with, which are exemplarily punished; for the judge condemns the aggressor, or he who made false deposition, together with his wife and children, to become, for ever, the slaves of the injured party, and half his goods and possessions advert to that party, and half to the crown. But what is most astonishing, if the person accused be innocent, the poison does him no injury whatever, whereas, if he be guilty, he expires immediately after swallowing the draught.

The second oath, or ordeal, is termed Xogua: a piece of iron is heated red hot in a furnace, from which it is taken by a pair of tongs, and presented to the person who has to undergo the proof, and who is directed to lick it, with assurance that his innocence or guilt will appear by the experiment; for that, if he be criminal, it will not only burn his tongue, but his face also; but that, if not guilty, it will do him no injury. The aspect of this frightful apparatus so much terrifies the unfortunate beings, subject to its proof, as to make them sweat and tremble exceedingly, and almost become petrified, wavering in irresolution whether to maintain their falsity or confess their crime, in order to avoid a torture capable of drawing confession of that, even of which they have not been guilty; what, however, is certainly shameful, some Christians have been known to subject their slaves to this ordeal; and of them, several have, for

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three sueeessive times, licked a red hot bar without experiencing the least hurt.

The third oath or ordeal is not equally dangerous with the preceding, it is termed by the Kaffers Calong. A beverage is composed of disagreeable herbs boiled in a pot, the juiee of which is exeeedingly bitter, and this is presented to the aecused with admonishment, that if innocent he will take the whole at a draught, and vomit it baek without any eonsequenee; but that he must take care of what he is about to do, since, if eulpable, and desirous of deeeiving, and seeming innocent, on swallowing the smallest portion of the beverage, it will choak him, an event which has sometimes oeeurred.

One is at a loss to what, unless the interposition of the Deity, a eireumstance so extraordinary is to be aseribed. It is possible that divine interferenee may on such oeeasions be exereised for the manifestation of the innocence of the person aeeused, and to draw down a merited chastisement on the guilty. This ordeal is indisputably founded on holy writ, for in the Old Testament are many examples almost in every respect aceordant. In the book of Numbers, ehapter V., especially, it is stated as an ordinance, when a husband disputes the fidelity of his wife, that he should eonduct her to a Levite, who should administer to her certain bitter waters to drink, and that if she had been unfaithful, her entrails, in consequenee, would be so powerfully affected, that she would shortly after burst, but that, if innoeent, they would do her no harm.

There is, moreover, in Sardinia, a certain well, the waters of which are in no respeet the less miraculous; for if an individual has been guilty of robbery, or if any desire exist of knowing the truth of any secret or important aetion, in one or the other ease, provided

the person suspected in the one instance of theft, or in the other of falsehood, be brought to the well, and his face be washed with the water drawn from it—if he be guilty, he immediately becomes blind, but if innocent, it will benefit or strengthen the sight.

Commentary.

Dos Santos is so close and clear a writer, or his Work has been so well translated into English, that I find it impossible to give an abstract, and have accordingly been obliged to transcribe almost every word of his eighth chapter, relating to the executioners, the Bards of the Kaffers, and to their three modes of trial by ordeal. It appears that each of the party of executioners, from the king's body guard of 300 or 400 men, was armed with a cutlass in one hand and a bludgeon in the other, for the purpose of beheading, and with a rope for the purpose of catching and hanging any persons whom the king may have sentenced to death. That on discovering the condemned criminal in the streets, a noose was thrown over him, he was knocked on the head with a club, and afterwards beheaded with the cutlass. Previously, however, to parading the streets for the fulfilment of their orders, and the apprehension and execution of the criminals, the executioners assembled round the palace of the king, crying aloud—"Inhama, Inhama!" a word which, probably, signified death, or execution. It is no wonder that the appearance of so formidable a gang of executioners, armed with the instruments of death, occasioned terror amongst the peaceable citizens, and that they repaired to their respective quarters, avoiding, as much as possible, coming in the way of this formidable band, lest they should fall victims to error or private revenge, for the mandate issued, the power of striking the fatal blow appears to have rested with the body guard, without further process or appeal.

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Who does not recognize amongst the Marombes who surrounded the palace of the Kaffer king, singing his praises, calling aloud—"Great king of the sun and moon, great king of the earth, great lion,* thief, &c." the Baths and Charuns of the Hindoos of India. The Kaffer chief was, it appears, accompanied in his travels by minstrels who sung his praises. That these too, were his messengers for the conveyance of his orders to distant parts of his dominions, and that his subjects emulated one another in their mode of doing honour to their sovereign's Baths or Bards. If the largesses were not sufficient in the estimation of the Kaffer marombes, they were, like the Baths and Charuns of India, almost entitled to help themselves. In these particulars I can almost fancy that I am reading the description of a Rajpoot court, planted in South Africa. One cannot hear the high sounding Kaffer language spoken, without at once agreeing with Barrow and Lichtenstein, that it is of foreign origin. Bannister, also, I think, considers that it has its roots in Arabic, Cufic, or Sanscrit. I cannot pretend to any acquaintance with either of those languages which would entitle me to judge. But there is no Persian in it, and it is a finer sounding language than Persian. The sovereigns of Ouderpoor, the most illustrious house amongst the Rajpoots of India, pride themselves on being the descendants of Naoshervan. Is it possible that a portion of the Caucasean family may also have turned into the south of Africa?

The same form of trial, by ordeal, is likely to prevail amongst tribes living under very different circumstances in different parts of the world; and whilst Father Dos Santos sees in the calong of the Kaffers

* The prefix Great being always essential.

the same ordeal which is described in the fifth chapter of Numbers, for discovering the infidelity of a wife before a Levite; and which, in Sardinia, is used for discovering a thief. I see plainly enough in the Lucasse, the poisoned cup of the Kaffers, and in the Xoqua, their red hot iron ordeal—the same ordeals in kind, and in the mode of application, as exist in the present day, very generally amongst the natives of almost all parts of India.—*February* 19*th.*

Chapter IX.—Of the ridiculous dress of the Kaffers; their singular manner of cutting their hair, so different from that of the Juiteva, who wears a resemblance of four horns on his head, his subjects being allowed but three; of their mode of hunting.

All the Kaffers are well made, and of good appearance; but they render themselves ridiculous by the extravagant mode of dressing their hair, which is frizzled and cut in such a manner as to present the appearance of horns on each side of the head, and on the forehead. The English translator says in a note here:—Moses, in ancient paintings, is represented with two horns on the head, and asks—was this mode of dressing the hair ever common in Egypt? and did the Egyptians, in this case, set the fashion themselves, or receive it from the Ethiopians? · Santos continues —to keep the hair erect, the Kaffers tie it round a stick with a kind of grass, which serves them for ribbons. This practice they adopt, as they say, to imitate male animals, on whom nature has bestowed the ornament of horns to distinguish them from females; women, that art may present the same distinction with the human, as nature does with the brute creation, are prohibited from wearing their hair dressed in this manner. Moreover, as well in the disposition as in the number of the horns, there is a difference between the Juiteva and his subjects; this

prince wearing one on his forehead half a foot long, two others above his ears, and one on the nape of his neck, whereas his subjects are permitted to wear no more than three.

There is little difference between the dress of the sovereign and the great, and that of the common people. The former are clad from the waist downward, in a robe of cotton or silk—the others in skins of monkeys, or other animals, killed in hunting. Those who are destitute of means to clothe themselves go entirely naked, without any one taking exception; the more wealthy wear at all times machiras or long cloaks, which train on the ground; they are worn fastened to the left shoulder only; and the length of the train of them is deemed to add to the gravity of the walk of the wearers, while it denotes the ease of their circumstances. As to what regards hose, shoes and stockings are unknown, the king and the people alike going barefoot, that they may be more active in running and hunting.

They have been ever passionately attached to the latter exercise, less for the pleasure it affords, than for their antipathy to labour, being naturally so idle, that when obliged to remain at home, they pass the day in drinking, dancing, and jumping, leaving to their wives the culture of the ground, and spending their whole lives in pastime and pleasure; this indeed so generally, that there are no exceptions, but a small number of artisans, employed in fabricating cloths and stuff of cotton wool, and in tipping their arrows, in arming their clubs with iron, and fabricating offensive and defensive weapons, as well for use in war as in hunting.

When a hunting-party is proposed, the people go out constantly, accompanied by the majority of their most intimate friends, and especially when the Juiteva

intends a royal hunt. On this occasion, all the Kaffers of the neighbourhood of the spot where it is to take place, are advised of his intention, and assemble to the number of four or five hundred men. These surround some wood in which they know there is game, keeping close together, penetrate the closest thickets, ejaculate loud cries, beat the bushes, and so intimidate the tenants of the forest, little accustomed to hear the silence of their shades invaded by the shouts of man, that they leave their haunts and peaceable retreats to fly for safety to the open country. Here they find themselves beset by a multitude of hunters and hounds, by whom they are pursued and overwhelmed with a cloud of arrows. It is only when the monarch is present that a lion is allowed to be killed, for of all his titles, that on which he most prides himself, is king of these animals; such as should presume to violate the ordinance which proscribes the hunting of lions, except on occasion of the presence of the king, would expose himself to be severely mutilated, or even perhaps to the penalty of death.

Commentary.

We do not, of course, require to be told in the present day, by Dos Santos, that all the Kaffers are well made, and of good appearance. But there are many other things in the IX. Chapter of his Work new to me. I did not before know, and could not know by comparing the Kaffers of the present day with those of 1505, that the head and neck of Juiteva, their sovereign, were embellished with four horns formed of his own hair, and tied with grass round sticks, to keep it erect, whilst his subjects were allowed to wear only three horns; neither could I know that horns formed of their own hair, were forbidden to Kaffer women, because, in the animal kingdom, nature was considered by the Kaffers, to give horns as the distinguishing characteristic of the males—and, be-

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cause it was intended by art to preserve the distinction in the sexes of human beings.

Neither could any one tell that the sovereign and the great among the Kaffers, were clad, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, from the waist downward in a robe of cotton or silk; the return afforded doubtless from the Indies, for the dried oranges, lemons, and other commodities which we have already seen that the Kaffers sent there, probably through Moorish agents—whilst the common people were content with the skins of monkeys and other animals, the produce of their bows, arrows, and assagais. Times are changed for the worse with the Kaffers of the present day, for we never see silk or cotton, or any other covering among them than the most ordinary skins. No one then, it appears, took exception at Kaffers, who could not afford to cover their nakedness, and kings and people alike went barefooted, that they might be more active in running and hunting.

We did not require to be told by the good priest,—although to priests we are more indebted, I think, than to others, for what we know of the condition of aborigines in all countries,—that the Kaffers were, and are passionately attached to the sports of the field. We knew too that Kaffers, like the inhabitants of all hot countries, have an antipathy for labour, and that, in too many instances, they have fallen a sacrifice by thousands to the labour imposed upon them by Europeans, although that labour was not greater than the Europeans could themselves have performed with ease. Field and domestic labours have, I think, in such countries been generally assigned to women, as being more suited to their natures than the more active pursuits of the chase, leaving war out of the question; and in all communities, and all conditions

of society, there must of course be a division of labour, where labour is necessary, between the sexes. We may be pretty sure that the women joined the men in their pastimes of dancing and jumping, and to some extent in their drinking.

The more wealthy among the Kaffers of those days wore, it appears, machiras, or long cloaks, fastened to the left shoulder only, trained to the ground, the length of the train being considered to add to the gravity of the walk in the wearers, and to denote the ease of their circumstances. Who would not rather see Makoma dressed in his mantle or korass of fur than in his round hat and square-tailed coat? But he has disfigured himself in these appendages of European invention. There were, it appears, among the Kaffers in the 20th degree of latitude, artisans in those days who employed themselves in fabricating cloths and stuffs of cotton wool, in tipping their arrows, their clubs and assagais, and in fabricating weapons of offence and defence for war and for hunting.

When the Juiteva announced that it was his pleasure that there should be a royal hunt, a battue was formed, consisting of 400 or 500 men. The lion was then, and then only, to fall before the arrows and javelins of the nobles and people. They surrounded a cover where game was known to resort, the lion having been, in all probability, marked down for the royal arrow or assagai. The noble quarry, Santos says, little accustomed to have his sylvan repose disturbed, broke cover, and took to the open ———, where he was assailed and overwhelmed by a multitude of hunters and hounds, and by clouds of arrows. My friend Showers and others who have hunted the royal tiger of India with the pack of His Highness, the Rao Raja of Ulwar, will understand what followed. Amongst the Kaffers the game laws were so stringent that it was a

capital offence to kill a lion, except when the king was present; for of all his titles, that on which he most prided himself, is king of these animals. What the Kaffer word for lion was, is not mentioned by Dos Santos, and what it now is I know not. Every one knows that Singh, on which the Rajpoot so prides himself, means lion; although it may amuse His Highness Benne Singh, the Rao Raja of Ulwar, and the other sovereigns of Rajpootana, to learn that the Kaffer sovereigns of South Africa were called lions 350 years ago.—*February 19th.*

Chapter X.—Of three modes of hunting, usual with the Kaffers, and of what befel a certain Portuguese, who, in the absence of the Juiteva, happened to kill a lion.

There resided at Sofala a certain Portuguese, called Rodrigues Lobo, who had so much ingratiated himself with the Juiteva, that he obtained from him a grant of the major part of the island of Maroopa, on the river Sofala. Dos Santos goes on to show how the monarch strove to raise his favorite Lobo above the other courtiers, bestowing on him the title of his own wife, as one of the most striking tokens of his attachment. Lobo, on his part, knowing that the king had ordered all his subjects to treat him as his wife, abused the confidence reposed in him, assembled all his friends and slaves to take the diversion of hunting, and rousing a lion, killed him. The king forgave this breach of the law, from being persuaded by Rodrigues that his life had been endangered by the lion, and finally issued a proclamation, by which all people, Rodrigues Lobo, his dear wife, alone excepted, were prohibited under pain of death, and confiscation of their goods, from killing lions.

The Kaffers being expert hunters, use a variety of means in surprising animals. They dig pits four or

five feet deep, and seven or eight long, but wider at the top than the bottom; these they cover with branches of trees and straw, in order that the more weighty animals, tigers and elephants, may be injured in their fall, and thus remain at the discretion of the hunters, to perish of hunger, or by shots of arrows; at other times they surround the covers in which the game lie, and oblige them to take to the river, when on the opposite side, they shoot at them till some lucky arrow pierces a mortal part; or when the equinoctial rains swell the volume of the river, and make it overflow, and the wild beasts are driven to the high grounds by the inundation, they await them there, and find them in such numbers that scarcely an arrow is shot but kills some one or other of the herds; for, on this occasion, though their natural ferocity at other times is such that they prey on each other, their ferociousness undergoes a change, which is surprising; they seem united as much as when they entered into the ark, and peaceably collect in bands and hordes as if the common danger alone engrossed their faculties, and rendered them common friends.

The lord of the island in the river gave a hunting party to Dos Santos, assembled more than 500 men, armed with bows and arrows, and some matchlocks; on entering the wood they killed three wild boars, and pursued several others, as well as elephants and tigers, which were so much intimidated that they fled to another quarter; while in pursuit of these, they found a young lion and tiger whelp, which were captured and presented to Father Dos Santos. The good father describes how the mother-tiger, scenting her young in his house, came the following night, making hideous outcries in the neighbourhood as if ready to devour all the inhabitants, and dashing with violence against the doors and windows, a practice she repeat-

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ed four nights running; at another time Father Dos Santos, in company with another monk, were much terrified at seeing a Kaffer making towards them at full speed, and seemingly admonishing them of some danger they did not perceive; on his joining them, however, they found his motive to be merely to induce them to quicken their pace that they might behold six lions, which had just passed the river, and which were traversing a neighbouring valley. The monks made haste towards the spot, but not trusting too much either to the Kaffers, or the lions, which were visible only by the trace they made in the grass, of great height and very thick, they had the precaution to take their station on the summit of a hill. The monks, who passed the night here, towards daybreak overheard the roaring of lions and tigers, seemingly disputing the prey one of them had taken. Tigers are so fond of human flesh, whether alive or dead, that in the latter case, when they scent the putrified bodies, they enter the places of sepulture to tear them from their graves; to prevent this, the graves are dug to some depth, and over them a large stone is laid; one morning a dead tiger was found on a tomb, after vain efforts to tear from the grave beneath, a body which was interred, and after, in the attempt, having dug a grave for himself, in which he expired of old age, wounds, and hunger.

Commentary.

It is curious to find Father Dos Santos, in his 10th Chapter, giving such minute particulars of Kaffer sports in which the monks appear to have joined; this would of course be uninteresting but for the facts which are incidentally stated relating to the country and the condition and manners of the Kaffers. It is curious to find that a Portuguese, named Rodrigues Lobo, had so ingratiated himself with the Juiteva, that he bestowed on his favorite the greater part of

the island of Maroopa, on the River Sofala, and as a crowning favor bestowed on him the title of his wife, as one of the most striking tokens of his attachment. But the Portuguese not only for a time lost favor, but narrowly escaped punishment or death for violating the law by killing a lion; finally he was forgiven, and the king issued a proclamation by which all people, Rodrigues Lobo, his dear wife, alone excepted, were prohibited, under pain of death and confiscation of all their goods, from killing lions.*

The three modes of hunting usual in those days with the Kaffers were—1st, by digging pits 4 or 5 feet deep, and 7 or 8 long, wider at the top than at the bottom, these were covered over with branches of trees and straw, and when the larger animals fall into the pits—elephants and tigers, the priest says, for example's sake, they are left to die, or are killed with arrows; 2d, the Kaffers surround the game covers with 400 or 500 men, obliging the game to take to the rivers for safety, and the opposite banks being lined with archers, the animals are shot at as they approach the shore, "until some lucky arrow pierces a mortal part;" 3d. when the country is inundated by the overflowing of the rivers during the equinoctial rains, the game necessarily quits its usual haunts, to find safety on the high lands, there the hunters follow, and find game collected in such numbers, the natural ferocity of the animals subdued by the novelty of their position, that scarcely an arrow is shot without killing some one or other of the herds. In travelling through countries long abandoned by aborigines, one sees everywhere the remains of the pits which they had dug as traps for the larger animals, particu-

* Much unnecessary repetition will, in all this, be observed. But it is my intention to print separately, for private circulation among my friends, all the original matter contained in the "Memoir."

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larly in the neighbourhood of what had been pools of water, which too, are, I think, artificial excavations. Capt. Allan showed me on his farm near George, one of those round pools, surrounded by these traps for catching game. There is every appearance, too, I think, as if the round pools which we see all over the country had been dug by the hand of man as reservoirs for the use of domestic cattle in seasons of scarcity; but the population is now so scanty within the colony, that these reservoirs are usually entirely neglected. It was not my good fortune to see a Kaffer battue; whilst travelling with Mr. Fynn near Shiloh, we came to a Kaffr kraal, the inhabitants of which had just killed 3 or 4 hartebeest, Mr. Fynn arranged for a battue on the following day, but something occurred to prevent it. We passed at this point within the colonial border, where the rifle of the inhabitants has so thinned and frightened the wild game, that animals are not now to be seen by the dozen, where formerly they were met by the hundred; and no wonder, for I saw on the Tarka plains a party of neighbouring boers with a cart-load of four superb wildebeest (gnu) carried off in triumph, affording food enough for most of their families for a month. The good missionaries of Shiloh told me that when their ark first rested there, lions, and every other description of game common to that part of the country, were to be seen stalking abroad in open day; now these things have mostly disappeared, and, except in the good and holy works of the missionaries themselves, the forlorn traveller will find nothing one hundredth part so interesting, and hardly any thing so valuable. But Dos Santos is dealing with a tribe of men whom he calls Kaffers, living in the 20° of latitude, and consequently under the tropics and the influence of the equinoctial rains,—the

tide of emigration is well known, all over this region, to have flown from North to South, and it may be the descendants of the same tribe which we now find under the denomination of Kaffers, along the colonial border. What the generic denomination of this race of men properly is I do not know, but Capt. STRETCH has promised to furnish me with a slight historical sketch. The three divisions call themselves, and are called by their neighbours, I believe, Amakosæ, Amagakabe, and Tambookie. There is a general impression that they crossed the Kei River in their emigration South, only a few generations ago; whether driven South by pressure from without, or impelled by the naturally wandering disposition of the inhabitants of Africa, does not appear in their case to be known; that wandering disposition has apparently prevented the people of South and Central Africa from founding cities, towns, permanent residences, or even temples—whilst the nature of the climate renders stone, brick, or earthen habitations unnecessary.—Dos SANTOS does not inform us, that I yet see, what sort of habitations the Moorish conquerors on the North-east coast of Africa had, or how the tribe which the Moors must first have called Kaffers, and which he too, following their example, calls Kaffers, were lodged. He tells us incidentally in this chapter that the lord of the island, in the river Sofala, probably RODRIGUES LOBO, turned out for his amusement a hunting party of 400 or 500 men, some of them armed with matchlocks; and he tells us that the graves in the neighbourhood of Sofala were dug to some depth, and that a large stone was laid over them because of the ravages of the animals which he calls tigers; but he does not tell us whether those were the graves of Mahommedans or of Kaffers. It must have been a good scene to have witnessed Father Dos SANTOS,

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and another monk, following six lions, which a Kaffer pointed out to them, until they could only be traced through the high and very thick grass, when, not trusting too much either to the Kaffers or the lions, the pious monks crossed themselves, counted their beads, patered prayer, and had the precaution to take their station on the summit of a hill.—*February 20th.*

Chapter XI.—Of the mountain abodes of the Kaffers, who pitch their tents where plenty reigns. The manner in which their law-suits are terminated, whether before the king, or governors of provinces. Their mode of making wine from millet and rice.

The Kaffers being naturally idle and averse from labour, constantly pitch for their residence on spots productive of abundance of the means of support, which, however, it is difficult for them to find, as they commonly remove in bodies of from three to four thousand, and encamp now in one, now in another quarter; and as they do not very willingly quit their abodes, though but of straw; when they begin their march, their camp is set on fire, in order that none may linger or return; when they arrive at a spot suited for their purpose they construct others; their stock of moveables is very slender, consisting merely of a bow and arrows for each male, a single pot for each family, in which their millet and rice are cooked, and two spoons, one for stirring their rice, and another to eat with. In general they sleep on a mat of reeds spread on the ground; and in the midst of winter they kindle a fire in the middle of the house, round which each places himself to sleep or rest. Their idle nature inclines them to dwelling in woods and forests, rather than in the open country, that any may not have to go too far in search of what is necessary for them; and here they build their huts, and live like wild beasts, when weary of one abode changing it for

another, especially at the injunction of their captain or governor.

As for any disputes which may arise between the individuals of an encampment, the captain or chief of it, who is appointed by the king, sits as judge, and decides summarily, without any appeal being allowed to the sovereign, who merely takes cognizance of matters of greater consequence. In the instance either of the sovereign or the chief of an encampment sitting as judge, the parties plead their own cause in court, the injurious practice of employing lawyers and counsel being unknown. After hearing the cause, the judge gives sentence; the party who loses forfeits all his property, of which one half goes to the judge, and the residue to the one who gains the suit.

Hunting is not only a pastime—it is with them indispensable, as they principally depend on it for their subsistence; and when it chances that they are unsuccessful, they live on whatever kind of animal comes in the way; for example, monkeys, cats, rats, &c., making up with fish and vegetables; but their principal food consists of millet and rice, both which yield them a kind of wine; when about to prepare this wine, they soak the requisite quantity of millet in water, leaving it two or three days till it begins to sour, afterwards taking it out, it is suffered to drain the space of two or three hours; they next place it in a mortar, in which it is pounded till reduced to a paste; this done, a cauldron half full of water is placed over the fire, into which, when it begins to boil, as much of the paste is gradually thrown as of rice flour, and the mixture is stirred up that it may unite; when the quantity intended to be prepared is thus blended together, and the whole is well boiled, the cauldron is taken off the fire, that the beverage may cool; the drink is called Pombé, the boiled grain

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serves for food. This extract of rice, and the paste of millet, after remaining at rest for two or three days, heats and ferments, nearly in the same manner as new wine does with us, but the people never drink of it till the fermentation has ceased, when they use it with such little moderation as often to become intoxicated: in order that they may constantly have store, they every day make a fresh supply, for the longer it remains, so as to become sour, and what we should deem spoiled, the better they reckon it, the more anxious after it they become, and attribute to it the greater virtue.

Those not partial to this beverage make another composed of certain herbs, resembling the cointre, of these they afterwards take the leaves, which drying and reducing to powder, they eat, and find highly nutritious. By eating these leaves, and drinking the water in which they have been infused, they subsist for days together, taking nothing else.

Commentary.

The Kaffers of the days of Dos Santos appear to have been of a more restless disposition than they are in the present day. We do not ascertain from him how frequently they moved in the course of the year, only that they constantly did so, and that they would have done so more frequently, except that they found it difficult to pitch upon places sufficiently productive to support the bodies of 3000 or 4000 in which they moved; neither does he tell us what quantity of cattle they had; they were probably then, as now, averse to parting with, or killing their cattle, and lived very much upon the wild game of their country; when this failed them they were sometimes reduced to the necessity of eating monkeys, cats, and rats. Their household property did not give them much trouble in *fliting*, since it consisted of only a bow and arrows for each male, a pot for each family, in which the rice was

cooked, and a couple of spoons for stirring it up and eating it with, also a reed mat, which, spread in the centre of their habitation, served for the family bed; the habitation was easily constructed of the wood and grass which they found everywhere in such abundance, and they appear to have preferred the forest to the open country, as affording plenty of materials and better shelter; a fire in the centre of the hut kept the whole family warm during the winter. When weary of one abode they readily changed it for another, especially at the injunction of their rulers. This mode of life accounts for the circumstance of the Kaffers never having had any private property in land, although an agricultural people to some considerable extent. I do not know whether any of the native tribes of Africa ever had any private property in the land. We have already seen* that the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape, the Goringhaiquas, the Cochoquas, &c., had boundaries fixed for the pasture lands of each tribe, which appear to have been respected by other tribes, and that until the arrival of Europeans among them to disturb their internal arrangements, one tribe could not even carry its cattle for the purpose of pasture within the limits of another tribe, without paying a per centage on the transaction. But those tribes living 14° further South were naturally governed by different institutions, and were of different manners from the tribes of the Mozambique. The former appear to have merely changed their pasture lands at particular seasons, since change was good for man, and absolutely necessary for cattle; they left their kraals standing, carrying with them their mat huts on their pack oxen, as well probably for the accommodation of the tribe with which pasture

* See Hottentot Head.

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lands were for the season exchanged, as for their own accommodation when they should return; although far more of an agricultural people than the others, the tribes in the Natal country, and those still further North, were probably of more unsettled habits, because they were more subject to pressure from without, since the tide of emigration flowed from the North, and since their country was more valuable. They accordingly burnt down their kraals when they left them, in order that no person should remain behind, or return, and that the tribe might not be broken in any degree in its migration; their cultivation, we see, was sugar cane, rice, and millet, and of course they had, in common with the other tribes of South Africa, as we see everywhere, pumpkins, melons, and fruits and vegetables of other kinds.

It will occur to every one as something very remarkable that the tribes should not have acquired, in process of time, permanent habitations, houses of masonry, brick, or earth, for they had pottery,—on the East coast they had gold and iron, and on the West coast, copper; whilst everywhere they had abundance of horned cattle, sheep, and goats. In some respects they were, therefore, far in advance of the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru of the same period. But the tribes of Africa appear to have been always of more unsettled habits than those of America, probably, because on the North their country was open to the invasion of the Greeks, the Romans, the Phœnicians, the Carthagenians, and the Arabs. These in their encroachments necessarily forced the frontier tribes upon those more inland; and so the tide of emigration or conquest must necessarily have rolled on, until the pressure, in the end, would be felt at the southernmost point of Africa.

It is a pity that Dos Santos, whilst discussing the

important questions of their judicial institutions, in this Chapter of his Work, did not enter more into detail, but we ought to be thankful for what he has given us. It appears, then, that the captain or chief of an encampment was appointed by the king, and sat as judge to decide summarily any disputes which arose between individuals of the encampment; and that from his decision there was no appeal allowed to the sovereign, who only took cognizance of matters of greater consequence. In the case of either the sovereign or the chief of an encampment sitting as judge, the parties concerned as plaintiff or defendant, argued their own cause in court; for Dos Santos says, the injurious practice of employing lawyers and counsel was unknown; after hearing the cause the judge passed sentence, the losing party lost all his property; one-half going to the judge, the other moiety to the winning party. In such a state of society, where there were no private rights of property in the land, and no public institutions of church or state to be supported by grants of land; and where land was so abundant, compared with the population, that a whole kraal could remove at its pleasure, and go where it listed; where, too, there was no circulating medium, real or representative, except long-horned cattle; and where the household property consisted only of a bow and a few arrows, a pot, two spoons, and a mat; for the habitation was of no value, —it may be readily supposed that but few causes for civil suits could arise. Three hundred and twenty-five years later, or when Attorney-General Bannister lived among the Kaffers on the colonial border, property appears to have assumed a more definite shape and value, for then chiefs were pleaders in the Kaffer courts, and were famed for their knowledge of precedents; whether amateur or paid pleaders is not,

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I think, described. But then, (Bannister says,) the form of a Kaffer court of justice, would not have lost in the comparison with one of Humboldt's pictures of a court of justice in Mexico or Peru. If property has gained a more definite and fixed value in Kafferland in the last hundred or two hundred years, it is not, certainly, owing to the presence of the European on its border, for that has tended to unsettle and demoralize the people of Kafferland, in their possessions and manners. That pressure has, however, been but small, and by small numbers; the good and holy work of the missionary within and beyond the border, but more especially beyond the border, being the only counterpoise to this, that I see. The pressure, however, from the far North, from which society in Central and Southern Africa must always have suffered so much, has now almost entirely or altogether ceased. Even the Arab and the Moor has become a comparatively settled being; and they have, at all events, been called to the defence of their own hearths by pressure from without; for, from England, France, and Russia, and even from India, they have been assailed; their outworks have already fallen, and a few more years may see the citadels of Mohammedanism occupied by Christians.

The principal food of the Kaffers, Dos Santos says, consisted of millet and rice; hunting was not a pastime only with them, for they very much depended on it for subsistence. When the arrow or the javelin missed its aim, they would eat monkeys, cats, and rats, mixed with fish and vegetables.

Their mode of preparing beer, or what Dos Santos calls wine, is not very different I think from that adopted for the same purpose by the Sarka and Danger Coles, wild and fierce races of men, inhabiting the mountains and forests lying in the Chota Nagpoor territory of India, who use bamboo bows of immense

spring and power, and frightful, doubly and trebly barbed arrows. The Kaffers take a given quantity of millet, steep it in water until it begins to get sour, then drain it of its moisture, pound it into a paste in a mortar, boil it in a eauldron half full of water, with an equal quantity of riee,—stir your mixture, eool, and drink it as pombé, and eat your boiled riee. The rice and paste beer, if allowed to rest for two or three days, Dos Santos says, heats and ferments, but the Kaffers never drank it until the fermentation eeased, when they often got drunk on it; this brew was repeated every day, and the longer it was kept the more they liked it, and the greater the virtue they attributed to the mixture. Those who did not faney this beverage made another of eertain herbs resembling eointre—after extracting the juice they dried the leaves, reduced them to a powder, whieh they found highly nutritious. By eating the leaves and drinking the water in which they were infused, the Kaffers subsisted for days together, taking nothing else.—*February* 21*st.* The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

Chapter XII.—How the Juiteva wishes to be thought the only soreerer in his kingdom, and of the punishment ineurred by those who assume the title. Of the superstitious eeremonies observed by the Kaffers at their nuptials. Of the injurious epithets bestowed on their slaves.

It is of eourse unneeessary that I should enter in my Memoir any portion of the text of Dos Santos, in order to eomment upon it, those who doubt whether I stiek to my text ean refer to the Work itself, and I wonder that this did not oeeur to me before, it would have saved me a little transeribing. Commentary.

The Juiteva regards as honorary distinetions titles whieh would be thought offensive with us, and is so eovetous of the title of loeas, that none of his sub-

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jects or dearest confidants, may assume it under pain of death; and if any rogue be found only suspected of witchcraft, it is lawful to put him to death; half the property of the person slain going to the slayer, and half to the king; any person apprehending a malefactor, and if he be condemned, obtains his services for life as a slave, and the slave is ever after known solely by the designation of the crime he is sentenced for, that he may bear in mind constantly the crime he committed and his breach of the law; also, the clemency of his master in commuting his punishment to slavery; although the king be the only sorcerer in his country, that, Dos Santos says, is no preventive to the constant sacrileges of the superstitious Kaffers, who never begin the slightest affair; they neither sow, plant, nor commence a journey without consulting, by casting lots on the fate of the undertaking. Should fate prove adverse, they blame the images, and abuse and ill-treat them. They always carry about them, for the purpose of divining the future, certain round pieces of wood, with a hole through the middle, which they constantly throw like dice. Others imitate the Chinese, says Dos Santos, in their manner of telling fortunes, playing a game of hazard before their idols; should chance be against them, kick and box the idols; if still, after this correction, they should continue unsuccessful, they burn off the hands and feet of their idols; ill fortune still continuing, they cast the idols on the ground, trample them under foot, and dash them about with such force as to break them to pieces. Some show greater veneration for their idols, and content themselves with pelting and upbraiding them until they have obtained their end,—should this not follow as early as their patience looks for, they fasten them to a cord, and gradually drop them into the water, even to the bot-

tom, trusting thus to force the images to be propitious. The patience of even the milder Kaffers, Dos Santos says, cannot bear this long, and presently the images are taken out of the water and subjected to the grossest indignities.

Dos Santos says, the Kaffers are equally superstitious in matters relating to marriage—the bridegroom must meet with a man strong enough to carry him on his back to the house of the bride without halting; should he stop, the wedding must be deferred to another day. The proposed bridegroom treats with the father and mother as if for a slave, as he would do for so much merchandize; haggling as to the number of cows and sheep to be given in exchange. The price settled, the relations and friends of both parties assemble to celebrate the marriage; the bridegroom is carried by some friend, without resting, to the house of the bride, the exchange is made, and the parties attending make presents of rice, millet, and other things necessary to house-keeping; should the husband so incline, he is at liberty to send back the wife to her parents, and not obliged to receive her again; the parents may again sell her to any other person, and by this means the fathers of large families of daughters become wealthy in cattle; a man is not restricted to any number of wives, but is free to purchase as many as he can maintain. But equal renunciation is not permitted to the wife, by the laws, in order, no doubt, to prevent, says the monk, the great plurality and frequent change of husbands, which would otherwise be the consequence. Among this people are women, who are, in a manner, savages, and perpetually dwell among the woods. The Kaffers, however barbarous by nature, rear their children with the nicest care; and, for their provision, strive to amass what property they can. But as the king is so per-

fectly absolute as at pleasure to dispose of the property, and even the lives of his people, they are satisfied that sooner or later, imagining that crimes will be imputed to them, of which they will be adjudged guilty, and that whatever they amass by toil or industry, will be taken from them, they, therefore, consider that they are the mere depositories of property for their sovereign, that it will some day pass to him, and their children be unjustly deprived of it.

Many of the usages described by the good monk are well known to prevail among the Kaffers of the present day on the colonial border; others, as the use of images, they seem to have discontinued, probably after they had formed more close communion with Mahommedans, and adopted the rite of circumcision, for Dos Santos has not yet said that his Kaffers were circumcised.—*February* 23*d*.

Chapter XIII.—Of the four ambassadors sent by the Juiteva to collect tribute, the first of whom represents the king himself, the second his mouth, the third his eyes, and the fourth his ears.

Commentary.

Dos Santos says that the ambassadors are always the chief persons of the kingdom, particularly he who represents the sovereign's person, who is one of his sons. The Kaffers call the ambassadors Mutumos. The whole four represent the king's person, but each has a distinct title. The first, that he may preserve a proportionate dignity, remains perpetually silent;—the second, who is called the king's mouth, interprets the orders of the monarch, and explains the object of the embassy;—the third is called the king's eyes; his duty is diligently to remark what passes on the embassy, as he has on his return to render a faithful account, and especially to have a sharp look out after the number and quality of the things presented, that none may be pilfered, nor any of greater value

be substituted for those less valuable. The fourth is called the king's ears; he is charged to see and hear every thing, and chiefly to watch that the ambassador who speaks does not either augment or diminish any thing in his instructions, the particulars of which are detailed to the three others.

I have never seen any thing of this kind in India, but I have heard from natives of Central and Northern Asia,* that usages such as Dos Santos describes to have been prevalent amongst the Kaffers in their embassies, were, or are, prevalent in those countries.

The four ambassadors take with them more than 100 Kaffers, destined to carry the articles of tribute received. They send an express to the captain or governor of a district of their approach. He advances to meet them as far as the entrance of the town, accompanied by musicians and dancers, who play and exhibit their gambols before the ambassadors, while the noise of the drums in unison with the public acclamation, fill the air with a pleasing symphony. The Kaffers of the embassy march in a body, but their apparel is plain and uncostly, their only ornament being a coronet on the head, made of feathers, adjusted in a particular manner. This troop of Kaffers marches before the four Mutumos, who take their station in the procession according to rank; the last, being the highest in dignity, has the greatest retinue. The governor waits to receive them at the entrance of his town with all imaginable respect, and conducts them through the crowd to the apartments prepared for their reception. Who, in all this, does not recognize Asiatic usages?

Dos Santos goes on to say that on entering the gates of fortified places, it was usual to salute the

* Particularly from Meer Mhaboob Ali, commander of a troop in the 1st Regt. of the Nizaar's Cavalry Brigade.

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Mutumos with artillery, and that those gentlemen, on entering Sofala, after it was in possession of the Portuguese, were not a little alarmed at the report of the guns; they begged as a special favor that firing might cease, as one of their people was actually killed with dread. They then expressed a wish to see the artillery, viewing the guns at first from a respectful distance, then touching them—but never able so far to surmount their fears as to stand before the muzzles of the guns, especially the three great guns at the entrance of the gate. When the tribute due to the Juiteva had been collected, the ambassadors were conducted out of the town with the same ceremonies as on their entrance, and immediately returned to the Juiteva, to render an account of their mission. The taxes levied on the Kaffers, Dos Santos says, were much heavier than those levied from the Portuguese—the former paying three pieces out of each twenty, the latter but one.

It appears from all this that the embassy from the Juiteva, to collect tribute, was the first which reached Sofala after its capture by the Portuguese from the Moors. It is curious to find the Portuguese paying—rent, probably, rather than tribute—to the Kaffers for Sofala, a place which they took from the Moors, who had probably dispossessed the Kaffers only a short time before they were themselves driven out of it by the Portuguese. This may account for Dos Santos having said in his second Chapter that the people were unwilling to submit to the dominion of the Portuguese in lieu of that of the king of Juiteva, formerly lord of all the country, for he cannot have meant that the treacherous Moor, Abexin, had been lord of the country. In process of time, Juiteva, (the Kaffer sovereign), and his twenty-two tributaries, paid tribute and did homage to the crown of Portugal for their thrones. It is quite plain, however, that at first Portugal paid

tribute to the Juiteva for its possession of Sofala. How long this continued may either appear in the sequel of Dos Santos' Work, or others may discover it from other works. Had the Dutch paid tribute to the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Cape, or the English to the Kaffers, for the ceded or neutral territory,—or had the former power even recognized in any way the rights of those tribes in their lands, how different would now be the condition of the natives of South Africa!! And of the European tribes too, cultivators of a few acres, instead of being possessors of whole tracts of land which they never can cultivate at all.—*February* 23*d*.

The XIV. Chapter of Santos' History, commences with observations on Marco Paolos' notice of the island of St. Lawrence, or Madagascar; on the crocodiles of the river Sofala, as they came under his own observation, from which the Negroes and Moors escape with difficulty, when they repair for water to the river's banks. He says, that by rubbing their body with a herb called niciriné, when they enter the water, the Kaffers are safe from the crocodiles, which will not approach to bite them. The interdict of the Juiteva against killing crocodiles is confined to his own dependants; the inhabitants of the river Cuama, who are not his subjects, both fish for, and eat the animal. The Kaffers and Moors make use of the horns and hoofs of the sea-horse of the rivers Sofala and Cuama, as a remedy for the gout. The monk here, on one occasion, speaks of Negroes, and on another of Kaffers, distinguishing them, on each occasion, from the Moors of which he speaks at the same time. It is probable, therefore, that he did not very well discriminate between Kaffers and Negroes, although he distinguished the Moors from both; and as he speaks of the interdict of the Juiteva, against killing crocodiles in the river

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Sofala, not extending to the river Cuama, which was not within his territory, it is probable that the territory of the Juiteva was of no great extent.—*February* 23*d.*

BOOK II.

Commentary.

Chapter I.—The Portuguese army enters the kingdom of Maeoronga, in search of gold mines. The manner in which gold is dug. Don Sebastian was scarcely seated on the throne of Portugal, says Dos Santos, before he resolved on sending an expedition to Sofala, entrusting the command to Francis Baretto, who, penetrating into the kingdoms of Maeoranga and Maniea, discovered mines of gold in these countries, of which, by his prudence and valour, he made himself master. In the prosecution of his designs it was necessary that he should pass through the territory of the Juiteva, who, objecting to the measure, prepared to resist. He feared, too, less the king Chicanga, his enemy, more powerful than himself, should join the Portuguese, or that he should also become tributary to that power. He therefore sent one army to dispute, step by step, the advance of the Portuguese, and another to prevent a diversion on the part of the troops of the king of Chieanga. He also placed ambuscades, and skirmishes constantly took place, in which, although the Portuguese had the advantage constantly, they sustained some loss; still the harassing warfare disgusted them with the enterprise, and the loss of one man on their side was equal to the loss of a hundred men to the enemy. The resolution of the Portuguese enabled them, however, to open a passage for themselves through the files of the enemy. The Kaffers no longer considered themselves safe in

their towns, but abandoning them, carried off their cattle and provisions, trusting thus to oblige the Portuguese to retreat from want of provisions. Baretto continued, however, to follow up his conquests both by land and by sea. Juiteva at last fled from his capital Zemboe, carrying the inhabitants to a neighbouring forest rather than risk the defence of the city. It was given up to pillage and fire, and the march was continued towards the kingdom of Manica, which was reached in a few days. The monarch of this country, concealing his vexation at the arrival of the Portuguese, sent a complimentary deputation with provisions to greet Baretto. In return for this civility, messengers were sent to the Moorish monarch, entreating that he would accept the presents which were intended for him by the king of Portugal. He expressed a wish to see the Portuguese general, and came forward to meet him, as a mark of the esteem in which he held the king, his master. A treaty of amity was negotiated at the conference which ensued, and the king of Chicanga engaged freely to admit the Portuguese throughout his territories, for the purpose of trafficking, as well in gold-dust as in other merchandize. Of the former, the quantity bartered is very considerable in this country, says Dos Santos. The Portuguese were accordingly delighted with the conclusion of a treaty promising such advantage to their sovereign and to the realm, hoping, too, to return enriched with gold. A long description follows of the mode in which the Kaffers collect and wash the gold which they find embedded in the ravines after heavy rains. Baretto, however, returned to Sofala, well pleased with the treaty which he had concluded with the king of Chicanga. He was also so fortunate as to conclude another treaty with the Juiteva, who, when informed that Baretto

The Kaffers. 1505—1530.

was about to return, invited him to pass through his country, assuring him that he would meet only with friends, and that he begged to class himself among the number of Baretto's friends. The treaty of peace comprised the following articles:—Juiteva engaged to allow the Portuguese free access to his kingdom, for the purpose of traffic, and to pass through it to Chicanga, to trade in gold. Baretto, in return for this concession, engaged to furnish the Juiteva annually with 200 ells of linen. But the state of amity thus established was not of long duration. Dos Santos commences the Second Book of his History with an account of the expedition sent by Don Sebastian against Sofala, immediately on his ascending the throne of Portugal. Sofala was taken and settled by Da Naya, Dos Santos says, in 1505—6, during the reign of Emmanuel, or the regency of Catalina, the queen of John III. It is probable, therefore, since Dos Santos does not furnish us with dates, that the second expedition under Baretto, fitted out by Don Sebastian, the grandson of John III., was undertaken in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In the period which had elapsed the Portuguese governor of Mozambique had therefore plenty of time to discover by what tribes the Western Coast of the Mozambique Channel was governed and inhabited. There can of course be no doubt but that the king of Chicanga, with whom Baretto made his first treaty, was a Mahommedan; neither can there be any doubt that the Juiteva, with whom he formed his second treaty, and his subjects, were idolaters. The object of Baretto's first treaty was to obtain access to the territories of the Mahommedans, for the purpose of trading in gold, which was there produced. The object of the second treaty with the idolaters, who were of course called Kaffers

by the Mahommedans, was to obtain free passage through their country to the territories of the Moors. This throws quite a new light on the reports which reached VAN RIEBEECK at the Cape, about the middle of the seventeenth century, of a people who lived far to the north, whose daughters had long hair, with gold and diamond ornaments, and whom the tribes in the neighbourhood of the promontory were so eager to obtain in marriage. The Moors, or Mahommedans, as well as the Europeans, had, of course, long hair; since they belong to the Caucasian, and not to the Ethiopian family. But I am not sufficiently acquainted with the History of the Conquests of the Moors on the East Coast of Africa, and about the Mozambique Channel, to ascertain at what period they first colonized them, or when they drove the tribes whom they called, and whom we now call, Kaffers, to the southward. An inquiry into the History of the Mahommedans on the East Coast of Africa, would, however, be interesting as elucidating the history of the manners and institutions of the aborigines, on the first arrival of Mahommedans amongst them.—*February 24th.*

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

Chapter II.—Of the war waged by BARETTO with the king of Mongas, over whom he obtained a complete victory, notwithstanding the incantations of a sorceress, who quitted him to side with the Kaffers; of the remarkable springs in this country.

The treaties formed by the Portuguese with the kings of Chicanga and Juiteva created great consternation; their object now was to open a road to the kingdom of Mongas, which was only to be effected by the sword. The obstacles were many, but BARETTO was prudent, commanded a well-disciplined army, and by the bravery of his troops was constantly victorious in skirmishes, as well as in pitched battles.

Commentary.

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

The king of Mongas was powerful, had a very fine army on foot, and disputed every pass. The day at length arrived when the Portuguese had to combat the whole force of the Kaffers, who, although far superior to the Christians, were somewhat intimidated. The Portuguese had, too, an old sorceress with them, whom superstition regarded as a palladium calculated to secure victory to whichever side she espoused. They of course placed no reliance on this tale, which was promulgated by herself, or on the power of witches, but formed their line of battle in due order. She joined the ranks of the Kaffers, was gladly received by them, and the attack began on the part of the Portuguese. The sorceress promised victory to the Kaffers, engaged to strike their enemies with panic, and to blind them with a powder which she had in a bag, provided her friends would stand firm against the first shock; they had such implicit confidence in her promises, that they had provided themselves with cords with which to bind their victims. "The Portuguese," Dos Santos says, "laughed at the imaginary enchantments of the witch, bore down upon the opposite army, and the general singling out the old woman, who was readily distinguished in their ranks by her ridiculous contortions, and was then in the act of giving to the air the powder which should deprive them of sight, directed a field piece to be pointed at her, expecting thus to intimidate her; but confident in her charms, and deeming herself invulnerable, she mocked the effect of the cannon; the match was applied, and the palladium of the enemy at once blown to atoms. The confidence of the Kaffers in their invincibility was now at once annihilated;" and "Baretto, in the destruction of the witch, however he might deem it a weakness to rejoice at the fall of a woman, from

motives of policy joined with the army in the shout of exultation which was sent forth from the ranks." The cannonade thundered incessantly upon the Kaffers with such effect, that whole columns fell; victory, however, remained long uncertain; at length the Portuguese made themselves masters of the field, took the baggage of the enemy, and many prisoners, whom they made slaves. The Kaffers being anxious for peace, it was granted to them, on condition that the king should allow themselves and their merchandize free access to his dominions. It might be questioned whether, in their invasion of the kingdom of Mongas, the Portuguese were more in search of gold or of slaves, except that the period is earlier than that at which they began to export slaves from Africa to their possessions in America. The English translator of Santos' History says, in a Note, that the sovereign of the country of Mongas is called Monomotopa, as the sovereign of Sofala is termed Juiteva. Had the monk's History been published at an earlier period, or the Englishman's Commentary published, the Dutch government of the Cape might have been saved a great deal of trouble in their search after the gold mines of Monomotopa. But Van der Stell's journey into Amaqualand in 1685-6, might never have been undertaken at all—in search of copper or gold mountains. Santos' History was published at Paris in 1684; when, or by whom translated into English, I cannot tell.—*February 24th.*

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

Chapter III.—Of the exertions made by Francis Baretto, to obtain information respecting the mines of gold and silver in that part of the country, in the vicinage of the river Cuama or Zambese; of the trick played him, and the utter discomfiture of his army.

Although the country is rich in gold and silver mines, yet their contents are not easily obtained, for

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The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

the Kaffers are prohibited under penalty of death from showing the mines either to their neighbours or to foreigners. The sovereign enacted laws, prohibiting his subjects from showing the mines, and enjoining a declaration to be made to the court on the discovery of a mine, to prevent the Portuguese, says Santos, from gaining possession of any portion of the mines; and afterwards making war to secure the remainder. On his way to the silver mines at Chicona, Baretto was opposed by the king of Mongas, defeated him in several battles; and, although the most powerful of all the princes of that quarter, he sued for peace, which was granted. The remaining Kaffers abandon their habitations and the open country, taking refuge in the woods, after which the Portuguese advanced and arrived in safety at Chicona. There is little of interest, or descriptive of the condition of the inhabitants in Baretto's search of the silver mines. He left a party of 200 men at Chicona, well supplied with ammunition and provisions, instructed not to quit the post until the mines were discovered, but to make frequent incursions into the woods, and hunt out the inhabitants who had fled from their homes, hoping thus to force the Portuguese to forego their designs after their provisions should be consumed. Baretto returned with the remainder of his forces to Sena. But Dos Santos tells us little of the numbers on either side. By strongly entrenching themselves, and pursuing the inhabitants in their recesses, the Portuguese almost constantly returned, although encountering great resistance, loaded with provisions and spoil; at last, some of those who had fled into the woods came to terms with the Portuguese; who, Dos Santos says, themselves sincere by nature, dreaded not that the Kaffers had planned the treaty merely to make the invaders fall into the ambush which they

were preparing. The terms of the treaty were, that either party should regard the other as friends, that the Kaffers should furnish the Portuguese with provisions in their entrenchments, with guides to point out the mines, and people to assist in working them. The last article proved fatal to the Portuguese; for the Kaffers arranged amongst them, that whilst in progress to the mines, they would draw them into an ambuscade; 160 well-armed men had, in this position, to sustain the fire, Dos Santos says, but more probably the arrow shot, of 400 Kaffers from their covert in the forest, which effected the destruction of almost the whole of the Portuguese detachment; only a few being left to bear the news to their comrades in the fort. At first it was proposed to evacuate the fort. It was invested by 4000 Kaffers; and when, at length, the provisions of the Portuguese were exhausted, they sallied forth, selling their lives as became the Portuguese of that age; but, overwhelmed by numbers, they fell to a man.

Chapter IV.—Of the barbarous inhumanity of the Kaffers of the vicinage of fort Teté, who fed on human flesh, and of the war waged with the Mumbo, who had despoiled a Kaffer of his possessions who was friendly to the Portuguese.

Dos Santos says that beyond fort Teté, on the opposite side of the river Cuama, there are two nations of Kaffers, the one called Mumbas, the other Zimbas, or Muzimbas, both of which are cannibals; that they kill all they meet by sea or by land, for the purpose of devouring them; and that, when victims amongst strangers are wanting, they put to death their slaves and the aged, who, they say, are but an incumbrance. They have no religion, neither altars, images, nor idols, and no other object of adoration than their sovereign, who styles himself lord of

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heaven and earth. He pretends to have dominion over the elements, and should the seasons appear to contradict his will, he spends his rage in imprecations, and impiously lances his arrows against the skies. When, however, it does not rain, or rains too much, his subjects naturally regard him as a pretender to powers which he does not possess, and he is in danger of losing, not only their accustomed offerings, but of being precipitated from his throne. The Portuguese sought to establish themselves firmly in the country, and one of their modes of doing so, Dos Santos says, was by supporting those, who were favorable to their cause. They espoused the cause of a Kaffer who was oppressed by a neighbour of greater authority, took arms in his defence, crossed the river, and marched direct to Chicaronga, against his oppressor, the Mumbo Kaffer. The place was evacuated by its garrison of 600 men, and resolved to be the friend of the Portuguese, who returned to their original position, carrying with them to fort Teté, a number of slaves—men, women, and children—whom they found shut up in pens, for the purpose of being killed and eaten according to the general practice. Dos Santos says, that Mumbo Kaffer had, before his defeat by the Portuguese, become so arrogant and cruel, that he placed over the gate of his fort the heads of all whom he killed, keeping their mangled bodies in a room, into which, all who came to visit him, were introduced, as well to impress them with awe, as to show that his vengeance against his enemies did not terminate with life. Although he calls these Kaffers cannibals, and the country to the West of Mozambique is marked in some of the maps as being inhabited by cannibals, perhaps from his account, there is yet no instance given of cannibalism, although 200 of his countrymen had just been killed; and the probability seems to

be, that the Portuguese were stuffed with this story by their friends and partisans; the neighbouring Kaffers, for whose sake they had just defeated Mumbo Kaffer, taken Chicaronga, his place, and delivered it over to their friend; retiring themselves to fort Teté, and carrying with them the men, women, and children, whom they found shut up in a pen—probably for sale to themselves—as the Portuguese would now find, were they to assail places in the same degree of latitude on the West coast.

The Chief Mumbo saved himself by flight, after the loss of all his property. But the example of Mumbo was not sufficient to deter Muzimbas, another Kaffer chief in the neighbourhood of Sena, from attacking another Kaffer partisan of the Portuguese. This chief fled, and appealed to Andre St. Jago, the governor of Sena, who espoused his cause, and took the field at the head of his people, with two pieces of cannon. Muzimbas was deaf to friendly propositions, and the Portuguese found his position so strongly fortified that they turned the siege into a blockade, calling for assistance from Fernandez de Chares, the commander of the fort Teté. He marched to their aid, at the head of as strong a detachment as he could spare; but, holding his enemy too cheap, advanced without sufficient order or precaution, fell into an ambush, and the Portuguese were cut off to a man. The conquerors mangled the bodies of the slain; and cutting off their limbs and heads, joined their companions in the fort. The first account which reached Andre St. Jago, of the disaster, was his enemy's shout of exultation, and the sound of his drum. He then saw the troops of Muzimbas marching in triumph on the ramparts, each carrying a limb, and on the end of a pike the head of the governor of fort Teté. Hopeless of succour, he determined on a silent re-

treat, but Muzimbas, apprised of his intention, fell upon him unexpectedly, and the party shared the fate of the commander and the garrison of fort Tcté; amongst the soldiers fell Father Nicolas de Rosario, a monk of the order of St. Domingo, who had accompanied the army to say mass and administer the sacraments. Dos Santos says, that Muzimbas, desirous of signalizing himself, put on the clerical dress of the monk, and bearing in one hand the chalice, and in the other a spear, marched thus at the head of his troops, who each bore one or other of the members of the Portuguese they had killed, which they ate at a feast given in honour of their victory. This took place in 1592.

The following year (1593?) Don Pedro de Souza, governor of Mozambique, attempted to revenge the death of Andre de St. Jago, and of his troops, but he was obliged to retreat with the loss of most of his rear-guard, baggage, and cannon. He then formed an army, consisting of 1,500 Kaffers and 200 Portuguese, and besieged Muzimbas in form; the Kaffer repelled several attacks, and raised epaulments for the protection of his men from the Portuguese artillery. They filled the ditch with fascines, and pushed their lines to the foot of the counterscarp, meaning to carry the place by assault. The enemy threw hot water and boiling oil on the naked Kaffers, throwing, at the same time, certain machines of iron, which they use for the defence of towns, and which, being propelled with strength and precision, carry death wherever they strike. The Portuguese, and the Kaffers with them, lost the whole day in attempts of no avail; and, at length, sounded a retreat, in order to dress their wounded, and bury their dead.

On the following day gabions were erected, which commanded the ramparts of Zimbas, and the enemy

was so severely annoyed by musquetry, that he at length offered to capitulate. But while the articles were preparing, Muzimbas, as excellent a politician as a warrior, availed himself of a stratagem, which obliged the Portuguese to raise the siege. He counterfeited a number of letters from the women of Mozambico and Sena, telling their husbands in Don Pedro's army, that they were in great danger of returning to their pristine slavery, for that the Kaffers threatened to destroy both towns; conjuring them to return to their homes. The most endearing expressions were used in these letters; and the superior claims of kindred and affection, to those of their friendship for the Portuguese, were strongly insisted upon. The substance of the letters was spread through the camp; and the Kaffers represented the necessity under which they were of flying to the protection of their families and their property. Don Pedro having at last only 200 men left with him, determined on raising the siege. Muzimbas had taken his measures so well that he caused the rear of the Portuguese to be attacked in a narrow defile, cut it in pieces, took their artillery and baggage, and returned triumphant to his fortress; an engagement was however subsequently concluded, by which Muzimbas agreed to restore the usurped possessions of the Kaffers, which had originated the war, to the right owner. It is quite obvious now that the principal actors in these scenes were Mahommedans and Portuguese, and that both parties had large bodies of Kaffers in their ranks, with Kaffer chiefs as their partisans.—*Feb. 26th.*

Chapter V.—The army of Muzimbas being augmented by 15,000 men, he obtains possession of the island Juitoa, by means of information given him by a Moor, whom he causes to be punished according to his deserts.

The Kaffers. 1505—1580. Commentary.

The Portuguese were thunderstruck at the severe check they had received, and occupied themselves in endeavouring to re-organize their army to take signal vengeance for the treachery which Muzimbas, they considered, had recourse to in surprising them on their raising the siege of his fortress. Their wary enemy foresaw their intention, and persuaded, Dos Santos says, his own subjects and his neighbours, that it should be the object of wise men to seek the acquisition of glory, and to render themselves formidable on earth. By these means, and above all, by promising them success and rich booty, he persuaded many to fly to arms. This was the more easy, since the Kaffers are an idle race, preferring the ease of plenty usually attending, in these parts, on warfare, to the toils of peaceful occupations.—"Their ardent spirits could not brook a peaceful life."*—He made incursions with his new levies into his neighbour's territories, whose wives and children were killed and eaten, or made prisoners by his troops; whose numbers and depredations spread such consternation, that, Dos Santos thinks, the neighbouring chiefs flocked to his standard, in order to escape similar injuries. Muzimbas soon found himself at the head of 15,000 men, unrestrained by discipline from any licentiousness, provided they only obeyed his orders. He accordingly planned an attack on the island of Juitoa, (which the English translator says, in a Note, lies between the mouths of the rivers Juitoa and Juisima, North of Cape Del Gudo,) and hastened to put his design in execution, but the tide was too high to admit of his carrying this into effect; so he contented himself with laying waste the adjacent country, and commenced a blockade. The inha-

* As my late lamented friend, Captain Byam, used to say, in the Nizam's Cavalry Brigade, in India, when there was a prospect of war.

bitants were adverse to the dominion of MUZIMBAS; but a Moor, who was among them, swam across an arm of the sea, which separated the army from the island, and during the night led the army by secret passes in perfect safety; the place was carried, and more then three thousand inhabitants fell, who, Dos SANTOS says, served the cannibals for food during the pillage of the town. The only family left was that of the traitor, who entreated MUZIMBAS to regard them as the most faithful among his subjects. Dos SANTOS says, nature had implanted sentiments of honor, as well as a cruel disposition in the chief, who, like ALEXANDER, could hug the treason while he abhorred the traitor; addressing the Moor, MUZIMBAS said, "I condemn you, together with your family, to be cast into the sea, esteeming you all alike unworthy to serve as a meal for my soldiers, fearing lest the perfidy of your nature should have communicated a venomous quality to their flesh and blood."

After the destruction of Juitoa MUZIMBAS marched against the Island Mombaza. But the Turks had anticipated him by sending from the Red Sea four galleys to its relief, which arrested his progress. A Portuguese fleet accidentally at this juncture arrived off the place, which succeeded in beating the one party and in resisting the other. They defeated and captured the Turkish galleys, and entered Mombaza victoriously, in presence of the army of MUZIMBAS, which lay on the opposite bank of the river. That chief exclaimed that the Portuguese were truly the Gods both of sea and land, and thenceforth sought their alliance and friendship. MUZIMBAS concluded a treaty of peace with the Portuguese, received the town of Mombaza from them, and afterwards proceeded against the capital of Melinda, which he expected to take with ease; he had already affected a lodgment on one of the bastions, but a succour of 3000 men

The Kaffers. 1505—1580.

was thrown into the town by certain Kaffers called Molsequios, which repulsed him; the garrison then sallied, overthrew the army of MUZIMBAS, a small vestige of which only escaped the fury of the Kaffers, by dispersing in every direction.

Chapter VI.—The Moors of the Island of St. Lawrence, as well as those of Mozambico, rebel against the Portuguese.

Commentary.

St. Lawrence was discovered in 1506, by the expedition under the famous Captain TRISTAN DA CUNHA, on its passage to the East Indies, on the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. It was called by the inhabitants Madagascar. It abounded in all kinds of vegetables, rice, millet, &c. It is unnecessary to my purpose, that I should enter on the particulars of the remaining three Chapters of Dos SANTOS' Second Book, or that I should notice the Seven Chapters of his Third Book, for they relate almost exclusively to the wars of the Portuguese and the Moors, in which the Kaffers appear seldom to have taken a part. I cannot, however, reject this long digression from the original scheme of my Memoir, since the matter brought upon record has thrown much light upon what was to me before very obscure, in the operations of the Dutch government at the Cape; and in the History of the Kaffers and the Moors on the West Coast of the Mozambique Channel, when the Portuguese made their first conquests there in 1505-6. I shall, however, from this period of their history, return to "The Record," at the date of the last entry, April, 1687.—*February 28th.*

"The Record" 1687, April.

Dispatch from VAN DER STELL *and Council to the Chamber.*

We have not considered that we are authorized to dispose of the affair of the loss of the richly-laden

ship *Stavenisse*. The captain arrived in a miserable condition on the 1st of March from Terra de Natal in a small vessel, built there by himself; three of his officers, seven of his crew, and nine shipwrecked Englishmen. They agree in describing the natives to be very obliging, kind, and hospitable. Some Englishmen who went fifty mylen inland, were presented with meat, bread, beer, fruit, vegetables, and lodgings. They found metallic ores among the natives, and the art of smelting them; neither gold nor silver, though a certain chief, named Ingose, wore a bracelet which, being much heavier than a copper neck ring, they conjectured to be gold. The Kaffers. 1687, April.

The letter goes on to describe the fertility and populousness of the country, with the ingenious, docile, and obliging nature of the inhabitants. The vessel being at length ready for sea, through the industry of the Christians, assisted by the natives, who were paid with copper rings and beads, which the English possessed, and water casks having been made of the wood of the country, they laid in a store of meat, fresh, salted, and smoked, with corn, ground and unground; also goats, fowls, and other live stock. They sailed on the 17th of February, after residing a year and a day at Terra de Natal, and without compass, chart, or quadrant, landed at the Cape in less than twelve days, bringing with them about three tons of ivory, which the English purchased for copper rings and beads.

The Cape governor reports that they had bought the vessel from the English for *f.* 400; that she was found to be twenty-five tons burden, well built, and likely to last many years. They took into the Dutch service two of the English sailors who were acquainted with the country about Natal, and the language of the people, and who would be employed there.

The Kaffers. 1687, April. Commentary.

The record of parties of shipwrecked sailors, English and Dutch, who had lived for a year amongst the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Natal, having been well received and treated by them, their property respected, the natives working, and being paid for their work in copper rings, which they might so easily have plundered, and that the Europeans should have been able, in such a situation, to build and launch a vessel sufficiently found in all that was necessary to enable them to undertake a voyage to the Cape, appeared to be very remarkable, before I had seen, through Dos Santos' Work, the extensive operations carried on by the Portuguese and the Mahommedans a few degrees further north, almost 200 years before. It may be supposed that the tribes residing in the neighbourhood of Sofala and Natal were not very different in manners and institutions from one another, or from those whom we now find there; and there is every appearanee of this when we compare Dos Santos' deseription of them with the meagre observations furnished by the Duteh and English sailors.* Whether the Kaffers on the colonial frontier belonged to the same family, and if so, at what period they emigrated, can, probably, never be aseertained?—*March* 1*st*.

October.

Journal eontinued.—The Natal vessel, after having been well eleaned and caulked, was launched to make a trip to the East Coast of Afriea. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the Resolution authorising the voyage to Natal, direets a search to be made for the missing crew of the *Stavenisse*, the removal of the English found there, the collcction of information respeeting the nature of the country and the customs of the

* See also "The Eastern Coast of Africa," Zanzibar, Mocananga, Sofala, Delagoa Bay, Melinga, Natal,—Dr. Smith's "System of Modern Geography," Fol. Ed. 1811.

inhabitants; also, orders that a site be selected for a fort, and "to purchase the same, as well as any place where any mineral is found, in a solemn manner, from the natives for beads and rings," and, if possible, "to induce one or two of the natives to come hither, under a promise of being soon sent back;" "above all, take care that no one injures any of the natives, on pain of the severest punishment. This is recommended to your especial and unremitting attention." The Kaffers. 1687, October.

Commentary.

In directing the purchase of land in the neighbourhood of Natal, and of places where minerals were to be found, from the natives, for beads and rings, and in making purchases of land at the Cape and elsewhere, the Dutch authorities had of course more in view the establishing of a right to such places in the estimation of other European powers, than any purpose of doing justice to the natives themselves.* We have here the same orders repeated, as we have so often seen issued at the Cape, prohibiting the ill treatment of aborigines at the hands of the servants, or subjects, of that government; and for which so much credit is so often taken in behalf of Dutch rule in South Africa, by those who would palliate or cast into the shade the enormities committed by the Cape Government on a great scale. Curiously enough the orders for robbery or purchase of land on a large scale, and for individual protection, appear under this date in juxtaposition. Van der Stell, whilst penning these instructions to the commander of his vessel, must have very well understood the mighty evils which would be inflicted on a whole people by depriving them of their land, for he had almost forty years

* It is curious enough that no reference is ever made by the Dutch to the Portuguese possessions in Melinda, at Sofala, and other places in the Mozambique Channel, and this could not of course have arisen out of ignorance or inadvertancy.

The Kaffers. 1687, October.

experience of the working of that system in the administration of his own government at the Cape of Good Hope. Neither could he have been ignorant, that in purchasing lands from a chief, or that, in inducing a chief to sell lands, he was teaching that chief to dispose of property which could not by possibility belong to him, but which, if entrusted to his management at all, was so entrusted only for the benefit of the community over which the chief was exercising either temporary or permanent control. The President of the United States was lately, to serve a party purpose in America, endeavouring to secure the annexation of Texas to the Union; but although that province had constitutionally separated from Mexico, it was a question with the Parent State whether the authorities who ruled over Texas had the right so to dispose of the province. President Tyler found to his cost that he had not the right to draw another State into the bosom of the Union. What would Congress have said had the President entered into a contract for selling one of their States?—*March 9th.*

November.

Petrus de Galardi, in the voyage to Natal, is directed to keep a minute journal of all proceedings, and to collect full information of the manners and customs of the natives; the rings supposed to be gold, in the possession of the Chief Ingose, 10 or 12 mylen inland, are to be bought from him if possible, "using all proper caution not to make the people stubborn or averse to us, by showing too great covetousness, for they are otherwise deemed very obliging, kind, and mild; and notwithstanding their pleasing address, hospitality, and liberality, you will maintain a strict watch and good discipline, and be always on your guard against sudden attacks."

Commentary.

Petrus de Galardi was probably the commander

of the vessel built at Natal, purchased by the Cape government, now named the *Hooker Centaur*, and under dispatch for the Eastern coast. The Dutch authorities in ordering the purchase of the rings which they supposed to be of gold, and which the English sailors had seen in possession of the chief called Ingose, were now fairly on the scent of that precious commodity which they had so long heard, was to be found in the neighbourhood of Monomotopa; still it does not appear, that even at this late period, they knew that the Portuguese had been engaged in the same pursuit for almost two hundred years, only a few degrees further North. Van der Stell shows his jealousy of the English by directing his expedition to remove the few shipwrecked sailors of that nation, whom he knew to be living in friendly intercourse with the natives. It is interesting to find the Cape government of that period, considering the natives of Natal to be "obliging, kind, and mild; of pleasing address, hospitable, and liberal."—*March 9th.* The Kaffers. 1687, November.

Dispatch to the Chamber. 1688, April.

We did not detain long in inactivity the little vessel called the *Centaur*, in which the crew of the *Stavenisse* came here last year, but dispatched her with nineteen men on the 10th of November, to seek for the residue of that crew, and to examine more minutely the country of Natal. The despatch goes on to report how the winds and currents prevented them reaching the place,—at length, on the 8th February, between Punta Primera and the Bay De la Goa, they saw two sailors of the wrecked *Stavenisse*, fully two mylen from the land, naked, and seated on a raft with a sort of paddle in their hands; they said that twenty

The Kaffers. 1688, April.

of their shipmates were scattered about in the neighbouring kraals. The weather was fine, and it was resolved to send some one on the raft, with small presents to the chief of the country, and to request that he would allow the people to embark. To this the chief instantly consented, when nineteen, including a French boy, were collected, and instantly embarked; three men preferred remaining, and three others had not long before set out for the wreck of the *Stavenisse*. So the *Centaur*, not venturing to lie longer upon a lee-shore, returned to the Cape, where, although the men of the *Stavenisse* were naked, they arrived all well on the 19th February. They said, that with the exception of the six men already mentioned, the rest had, they believed, been murdered by the natives, devoured by beasts of prey, or perished of hunger and fatigue; for during all the time of their abode in the country they had been unable to learn any thing of the fate of their companions.

Extracts of Log-Book kept in the Hooker Centaur.

While the boat was rowing towards shore, near the Coffin rock, latitude 32. 39., we saw some signals made as was thought by some Hottentots with their karosses, but no suitable place to anchor was found, although the rock was attached to the main land. We held it for certain that the Hottentots and Kaffers had not skill to make such gestures, and doubted whether it might not be Christians from some wrecked ship. The next day three men were seen paddling quickly on a catomaran; they said they were Dutchmen, belonging to the *Stavenisse*, that there were nineteen others on shore; also, a French boy, who had embarked at Madeira, in the English company's ship,

called the *Boede*. He had gone with other men in a boat to look for a haven, and lost the ship. Whilst some of them were about to cook their victuals in a tent raised on shore, the others having gone to look for firewood and water, they were discovered by a woman, and soon after overpowered by the Kaffers, who killed three men, one of whom was the pilot, the other four escaped, but to this day the boy found himself alone, latitude 32. 50., (somewhere near Algoa Bay?) Anchored in 15 fathoms and sandy ground; sent a boat and the catomaran to the shore, but as it was near night, and as there was a heavy surf on the beach, they only brought one man. These Christians were covered in ox hides like the Hottentots, and each of us gave them, according to our ability, something to cover their bodies. On the 9th, we exerted ourselves to the utmost, in order to embark all the men of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*, and got on board nineteen men, including the French boy, also a fat ox, bartered from the Kaffers there, for an arm-ring, value one rix-dollar. The sergeant was very desirous of himself delivering to the king the presents in gratitude for the kind care he had taken of the Dutchmen of the *Stavenisse*, during their stay in his dominions; but this was not possible, and these things, five pounds of red beads, a neck-ring, and two arm-rings; also, as payment for the two oxen, two arm-rings were entrusted to three seamen to deliver to his majesty in the name of the Honorable East India Company. We could no longer entrust ourselves at anchor there, two blunderbusses were fired to recall the sailors, and they returned, and said that the king was well satisfied with the presents; 3 oxen had been slaughtered, but the sailors had only time to bring with them half of an ox; they had heard nothing about the three remaining sailors, which gave much concern, as there

The Kaffers. 1688, April.

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was plenty of time for them to have heard of our arrival. The log-book contains nothing further material until the 19th of February, when the *Centaur* arrived in Table Bay.

Commentary.

The longitude is not given in the log of the *Hooker Centaur*, in her voyage from the Cape in seareh of the missing portion of the erew of the *Stavenisse*, which was wreeked near Natal. She left Table Bay on the 10th of November, 1687, and on the 6th of February, was in latitude 32. 39.; where she had been during the intermediate period, does not appear by the log, as given by Mr. Moodie; between the 6th and the 10th, she appears, however, to have remained at anchor, or to have proceeded towards the South; and on the 9th, in about 33. South latitude, she picked up nineteen men of the *Stavenisse*, apparently on the eoast about Algoa Bay, or the mouth of the Great Fish River; for, from the latter point, whieh, in the map I have got, is about 33., the coast trends rapidly in a North-Easterly direction to Natal, which is in 30. So that to come to the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay even, these shipwrecked sailors must have traversed 3. of latitude. The *Hooker Centaur* reached Table Bay with them in safety on the 19th, the tenth day after she took them on board. Who the king, as they call him, was, in those days, does not at all appear; but like the inhabitants of the East coast of Africa generally, whether Zoolas, Kaffers, or Hottentots, he treated the sailors in a manner which called forth the expression of their gratitude, and the gratitude of the offieer eommanding the vessel which went in seareh of them.—*Algoa Bay, March* 10*th.*

Log of the *Hooker Centaur* continued.—The eighteen reseued men of the *Stavenisse* deelare, on their faithful word as men, in lieu of oath, before the seeretary of the *Hooker Centaur*, on the 11th of February, that

during the twenty-two months which they journeyed from the wreck of their vessel, the *Stavenisse*, to the Magossebe territory, under the government of a certain king, called MAGAMMA, where they were stopped in their journey and detained. They could discover nothing profitable for the Company, although they travelled through the whole country, sometimes holding their course along the beach; still less any haven or river fit for the reception of the Company's smallest packet, but that the beach was generally very foul and full of steep rocks; they unanimously begged to be conveyed to the Cape, and that the commander of the vessel should not prosecute, according to his instructions, the voyage to Natal. The Kaffers. 1688, April.

Done on board the vessel called the *Centaurus*, on the 11th February, 1688.

Here follow eight signatures and ten marks—certified by

P. DE GALARDI, Member and Secretary.

Fine weather; wind as above; course and distance W. by S. half S., 36 miles, latitude 33. 42. Wednesday, February 11.

The men related the sufferings, dangers, and hardships, which they had sustained during their journey from the wrecked ship; how they were in daily risk of being drowned in rapid streams, by which two lost their lives; or devoured by ferocious animals; the supposed fate of two more of their number, who being unable to proceed further, sat down, and are believed to have served as food for a lion or a bear; or otherwise miserably perished; to aggravate their misery, they were ill-treated by the barbarians, and inhuman heathen, robbed of all their property, beaten, and exhausted. They passed through five sorts of Hotten-

The Kaffers. 1688, April.

tots, some of them so simple, that they assisted the sailors to carry their weapons. Beginning from the place of the wreck, the five sorts were named Semboes, Mafontemoresse, Maponte, Matembes; the Magryghas, these were the most cruel of all, who plundered the sailors of every thing; and the Magossche, who received them with every kindness, and supplied them up to the last day with the necessaries of life. It was the intention of the sailors to have prosecuted their journey overland to the Cape, but they were always prevented by the Magossche; who said, that they must pass through tribes, armed with bows and arrows, who would obstruct their passage and murder them. Twelve men, however, bolder than the rest, started for the Cape; what became of them, their companions never actually learnt, although they understood from the Hottentots that they had been put to death by the Batuas.

The tracts of land are called Magossche, and are so fertile, that if a grain of wheat is let fall on the top of a mountain, it will produce as much as if sown in a field; there are beans, pumpkins, water-melons, and such like, in abundance.

These Kaffers are well-formed in body, swift runners, and live under the gentle monarchy of their king, Magamma, who is a very friendly, good-hearted, young and active fellow. They use the greasy caps like the Hottentots of Natal, and are clothed like those at the Cape, except that the girls are somewhat more handsomely ornamented; as the Natal Hottentots smelt their iron, so they can smelt the metal for arm-rings, they may also have some knowledge of minerals.

They are generally kind, compassionate, and hospitable, but lazy in their nature, for the women perform all the hard work, as digging, thrashing, and

making their huts, besides cooking and dressing victuals, while the men do nothing but milk the cows and make the kraals. The Kaffers. 1688, April.

They are armed with shield and assagai, with which they oppose their enemies, the Makanæna, who use the bow and arrow, and do them great injury, for they not only steal their cattle, but they do not spare women and children, inhumanly murdering them.

Circumcision is held in high respect, and no one can serve as a man unless he be circumcised. They offer up for the continuance of their health some cattle, but to whom, or with what object, the sailors could never ascertain; when the king dies they must wear no caps for a whole year, and they instantly lay aside the copper rings used as ornament on the neck and arms, keeping themselves apart also from the women.

When any one dies, and another, either man or woman, is accused of having killed the deceased by poison, the suspected culprit is laid on the ground, his hands and feet extended and tied to four stakes, he is then severely beaten with sticks, and to double the pain, they lay on his breast, nostrils, &c., the nests of red ants; if a person is only sick, and any one is laid hold of on that account, the torture is renewed until either the sick person recovers, or both die. They deem themselves immortal, unless the thread of life is violently severed; therefore, on becoming sick, they get suspicious, and are very distrustful.

Plurality of wives, if the husband can maintain them, is customary, and they purchase their wives from the parents for cattle, assagais, iron, and copper, which must be paid when the first child is born; as soon as he has purchased his wife, oxen are slaughtered, with which the newly married pair and the bride's maids are entertained; this being consumed, they begin to dance, and afterwards the bride and bridegroom having

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each danced for awhile alone, they dance towards each other, with which the marriage feast terminates.

When the Magossche have a dispute with any of their enemies, and declare war, the booty of cattle taken from the enemy is divided between the king and other great men; but the iron and copper is worn as a mark of bravery by those who get it. When one of those flat-nosed Kaffers dies, all his things are thrown away, but they preserve the copper and iron. When the son separates from the father, and goes to set up for himself, the father will eat no milk with his son, unless the son, in honor of his father, kills a fat ox, and entertains him therewith.

No one must presume to barter any thing to a stranger without the king's consent; on going to hunt and killing any game of value, they bring the same before the king, who keeps it, rewarding the bringers by slaughtering an ox. Nothing is grown in these countries but pumpkins, small calabashes, water-melons, sugar-cane, beans, and wheat, two sorts of wild figs, of a very good taste, also a certain kind of prunes, with a variety of sweet-smelling and medicinal herbs, unknown to the sailors. The country swarms with wild animals; there are seen elephants, bears, tigers, wolves, and venomous snakes; there are wild horses, with white manes, white feet, and black tails, grazing together with asses, deer, and other unknown animals.

The person who drew up this notice—Pieter de Galardi, apparently—says, having thus far noticed the laws and customs of those Magossche Kaffers, I treat as above, according to what I have understood from others, of the cultivated and indigenous productions of the soil. I have been obliged to pass over much more concerning the habits of those flat-nosed people, in their huntings, sickness, burials, and other matters besides, as the sailors did not agree in their accounts on those points.

Three of the crew had deemed it more advisable to return once more to the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, than any longer to stay, where they saw no chance of escape; as they had understood that there were some English in that quarter, and also because ships occasionally touched there, by which they might probably be enabled to return to Europe. The Kaffers. 1688, April.

It must have been a curious and interesting meeting this, on the 9th February, 1688, in lat. 32. 50., between the party of shipwrecked sailors of the *Stavenisse*, which took their departure from Natal on the 17th of February, 1687, in the frail bark which they had built there, and the 47 healthy and active men who left the same place twelve months before, to go to the Cape by land. Of these 47 men 19 were now taken on board the same frail craft, which had been sent in search of them, apparently somewhere about Algoa Bay and the mouth of the Great Fish River; 12 men had pursued their journey from that part of the coast by land to the Cape; two were drowned in crossing a river—two exhausted, sat down and were left to their fate—3 preferred returning all the way to Natal or the Mozambique Channel, where they knew that ships sometimes touched, to remaining on the open coast where apparently no ship had been seen during the twenty-two months which they had been journeying along, or sojourning on it. What became of the 12 men who proceeded to the Cape, or of the 3 who returned to Natal, does not yet appear; and 9 out of the 47 are altogether unaccounted for by the 19 who were taken on board the *Hooker Centaur*.* Commentary.

* On the coast of any other country in the world these wearied travellers would have found canoes or boats to pass them over the streams; or, in 1687, ships to have carried them from the coast. It seems almost a peculiarity of Africa that there should be neither harbours nor rivers for safety or navigation—affording additional proof that Providence never could have intended that region for the abode of civilized man.

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The land party describe themselves to have journeyed through countries occupied by six different tribes of men; commencing from Natal:—1st, the Sembocs, 2nd, the Mapontemorasse, 3rd, the Maponte, 4th, the Matembes, 5th, the Magryghas, 6th, the Magosse or Magossche. Some of these tribes are described to have been so simple as to have assisted in carrying the arms of the travellers; the 5th seems to have been the people who treated them worst and plundered them of every thing; the 6th or last tribe, the Magossche, received them with kindness, and supplied them with the necessaries of life, up to the day on which they were taken on board the *Centaur*. Mr. Moodie had questioned whether these are not the Amakose of the present day; and the situation in which they were found, as well as the disposition of the people, go far to strengthen that supposition. There is, too, much in the institutions and manners of the Magossche of that period, as described by the sailors, which accords with what we find amongst the Amakose of the present day. They lived under the gentle monarchy of their king Mogamma, who was a friendly, good-hearted, young, and active fellow. Who in this does not recognize the Gaika of General Janssens, Lichtenstein, and Barrow? or poor open-hearted, laughing Makoma of the present day? the father and son, chiefs of the Amakose. The Kaffers themselves well formed in body, and swift runners, kind, compassionate, and hospitable, but lazy in their natures, armed with shield and assagai—undergoing the rite of circumcision before they were entitled to the use of arms; smelting metal, probably copper, for arm rings —attending only to their hunting, to their herds, and the construction of their kraals; and leaving it to their women to dig, delve, prepare their huts, cook and dress their victuals, to gather in their pumpkins,

melons, sugar eane,* wheat, beans, and other things. Their laying aside their caps and ornaments on the death of their king, smaeks very mueh of Asiatic usages, as does their plurality of wives, if the husband can maintain them—so does their fear of poison, and their mode of punishing a person supposed to be guilty of administering it, or of produeing the death of another through witeheraft and ineantation. But we need not be surprised to find the Kaffers of the seventeenth century following Mahommedan rites and usages, or the deseendants of Mahommedans, since that people had eolonies in the Mozambique Channel two hundred years before. It does not appear who the Batuas were, against whom the Magossehe warned the sailors, as likely to kill them with their bows and arrows, if they persisted in prosecuting their land journey towards the Cape; nor does it appear who the Makanama were, who, armed with bows and arrows, used to steal the cattle, the women and ehildren of the Magossche, but the probability is that they were tribes of Bosjemans under other designations than Souqua and Obiqua; the designations by which we have heretofore met with that diminutive raee of men. The eattle taken from an enemy seem then to have been divided between the king and other great men, (his council?) and the iron and copper ornaments, to have become the property of the individual who, through his bravery, acquired the spoils of an enemy. The Kaffers were then, as now, far too fine a raee of men to condescend to use bows and arrows like Bosjemans, and considered the shield and spear more appropriate.—*March* 11*th.*

The Kaffers. 1688, April.

* It may be doubted whether the sugar cane, so often mentioned, on the East Coast of Africa, was any thing else than the stalk of the jowar or millet, which we still see among the Kaffers.

The Kaffers. 1688, October.

Dispatch from the Chamber.

If a quantity of different kinds of wood could be procured at Terra de Natal, as you seem to think, it would be a great help and relief to the Cape. Mr. Moodie says that Instructions of the 15th October to the *Noord*, directs a survey to be made at Rio de la Goa, between lat. 25. and 26. "The natives are understood to be far from equally obliging, kind, and compassionate with those of Terra de Natal;—you will, therefore, take care not to trust them, nor the Europeans among them, too far, but to be always on your guard. The orders relative to the conduct of the natives are, in other respects, the same as those contained in the Instructions of November 1st, 1687; except, that upon the information received, the means of conciliating the chief Jan Jaques, are stated to be a flask of brandy or arrack."

Commentary.

In this small extract from the orders of the Dutch government to the commander of their vessel, the *Noord*, for the survey of Rio de la Goa, two or three curious things occur to one—1st, that they should have ordered the survey of a place which they must have known to have been in the possession of the Portuguese for the last two hundred years—Holland being at the time at peace with Portugal. 2ndly, it does not appear whether in warning the commander to be on his guard against the natives of De la Goa, who were believed to be of far less pacific disposition than the natives of Natal, the government mean the Europeans or the Aborigines, or both—but the commander is instructed not to trust the Europeans there, and to conciliate the chief Jan Jaques through a flask of brandy or arrack—the chief being probably the Portuguese commander. Van der Stell must have thought that the Portuguese were as likely to be cor-

rupted with his brandy and arrack, as he had found the aborigines in the neighbourhood of the Cape. Both Algoa Bay and De la Goa Bay, of course, took their names from being half, or two-third-way-houses to the Portuguese, during their voyage to their Indian capital, Goa, although how they applied these designations, I cannot tell. It has been suggested by a lady, Mrs. COLERIDGE, that Algoa Bay was the port at which the ships of the Portuguese touched on their way to Goa; De la Goa that at which they touched on their return, coming through the Mozambique channel.—*March 11th.* The Kaffers. 1688, October.

Dispatch to the Chamber. 1689, April.

The commander dispatched the galliot *Noord,* on the 19th October, well manned and supplied, and instructed to proceed to Rio de la Goa, between the 25. and 26. parallel of lat.; to sound and survey it, and to form a minute description of the intervening country, on the coast and in the interior, the character of the people, their merchandize, their animals, whether tame or wild—fruits, vegetables, minerals, and other riches; and also to recover the men still missing of the crew of the *Stavenisse.* At Rio de la Goa they found a very good bay, where a number of vessels, great and small, may lie, and into which several rivers discharge themselves. They found there, on the 15th of November, an English vessel and a Portuguese, loading; the natives strong and tall, crafty and cunning, and well armed; one of their chiefs was fully seven Rhynland feet in height; they live in huts square and round, wattled and thatched with reeds, and mat both within and without. They have many kinds of fruit and vegetables, among others annanas,

The Kaffers. 1689, April.

(pine apple, Persian,) pisang, watermelons, pumpkins, calabashes, potatoes, a kind of peas and beans, two kinds of corn, of the same kind that grows at Natal, of which they make bread and beer. There are not so many cows and sheep as at Natal, but abundance of goats and fowls, as well as of game of every kind as at Natal. The language at both places is also nearly the same.

The *Noord* lay there until the 29th December, and anchored at Natal on the 5th January, of this year, and found there the boatswain and a boy of the *Stavenisse*. They sailed on the 23d, and on the 28th anchored abreast of the country of the Magoses, in latitude 33. 42.; a sailor of the *Stavenisse* swam on board, through the surf, at the peril of his life, while his companion, for the want of courage, remained on the beach. These three persons fully confirm the declaration made by the mates and seamen of the *Stavenisse*, how the carpenter and a seaman were drowned in one of the rivers; the trumpeter and quarter-master lay down exhausted; and that at length, being only —— men in number, they were hostilely assailed by a certain people called Hakrigquas, plundered of every thing, and stripped quite naked; on that occasion the cooper was killed, and the sailmaker lost his right eye; they were then obliged, for some days, to beg their food in the kraals or villages of the Magose Africans, until, at length, they were distributed in the surrounding villages or neighbourhood, and there very well treated; they passed two years and eleven months amongst these people, and were unable to discover amongst them the slightest traces of religion; they deduce their origin from a certain man and woman who grew up together out of the earth, and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer. It would be impossible to buy any slaves

there, for they would not part with their children, or any of their connexions, for any thing in the world, loving one another with a most remarkable strength of affection. Their riches consist in cattle and assagais, as also copper and iron; their shields, clothes, and other furniture, are burnt on the death of the owner. The land is in common, each grazing his cattle, or cultivating the ground where he likes; they may also remove from place to place, provided that they remain within the boundaries of the kingdom. The country is exceedingly fertile, and incredibly populous, and full of cattle, whence it is that lions and other ravenous animals are not very apt to attack men, as they find enough tame cattle to devour. They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils for years. In their intercourse with each other they are very civil, polite, and talkative, saluting each other, whether male or female, young or old, whenever they meet; asking whence they come, and whither they are going, what is their news, and whether they have learned any new dances or tunes; they are, however, thievish and lying, though hospitable. Revenge has little or no sway among them, as they are obliged to submit their disputes to the king, who, after hearing the parties, gives sentence on the spot, to which all parties submit without a murmur, but should the matter in dispute be of great importance, and when he cannot rely upon his own judgment, he refers the parties to an older king in the neighbourhood. When the father beats his son so as to draw blood, and complaint is made to the king, he must pay the king a cow as a fine. The Kaffers. 1689, April.

The kings are much respected and beloved by their subjects; their houses are like haycocks in Europe, and merely a little larger than the common huts; and

The Kaffers. 1689, April.

they, the chiefs, wear the skins of the deer and tiger, but, in other respects, they are quite like the common people; of their courage little can be said, as during the stay of the Netherlanders among them they had no wars.

One may travel 200 or 300 mylen through the country, without any cause of fear from man, provided you go naked and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to rob those who have them; neither need one be in any apprehension about meat or drink, as they have in every village or kraal a house of entertainment for travellers, where they are not only lodged, but fed also; care must only be taken towards night fall, when one cannot get any farther, to put up there, and not to go on before morning.

In all their travels through the country, and residence in it, the sailors found but one European; an old Portuguese, in the country of the Mapontes; he had been shipwrecked there about forty years before, while returning from India. The wreck, built of teak, is still to be seen on the shore, and as the Africans state, several brass and iron cannons are still to be found there. The Portuguese had been circumcised, and had a wife, children, cattle, and land; he spoke the African language, having forgotten every thing, his God included.

They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, water-melons, and beans, much resembling the European brown beans; they sow annually a kind of earth nut, and a kind of under-ground bean, both very nourishing, and bearing a small leaf. Tobacco grows there wild, and if they knew how to manage it, would, in all probability, resemble the flavour of Virginia. The true European fig grows wild, also a kind of grapes, which were a little sour, though well tasted; they are best boiled. They have also a

kind of tree fruit, not unlike the Fatherland medlar, and not unpleasant to eat; wild prunes grow abundantly on the shore, and are well tasted. There are also wild cherries, with long stalks and very sour; finally, they have a kind of apple, not unpleasant eating, but which are not ripe until they fall from the tree. The Kaffers. 1689, April.

The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers, and goats; there are few sheep, but no want of elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, leopards, elands, and harts, as well of the Cape kind as the Fatherland, with branched horns; rheboks of various kinds, wild hogs, dogs, buffaloes, seacows, crocodiles, and horses. The latter they do not catch or tame, although they approach within 10 or 12 paces; they are finely formed, and quite black, with long manes and tails, incredibly swift, and of great strength; some have the tail black and others white.

They also say that there are two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and colour like the elephant; having a head like a horse, a short tail, but a long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe. (Giraff, Mr. Moodie says?) There are ostriches, geese, ducks, pigeons, red and brown partridges, abundance of pheasants and paauws, with a shining top-knot and tail. (Balearic crane, Mr. Moodie says?)

We trust that this long detail will not be disapproved by your Honors, as it tends to convey information concerning countries, which, although lying so near to your colony, have hitherto remained so little known, in spite of several vain attempts. The galliot, after being supplied with every necessary, was about to return to the Bay de la Goa, in latitude 33., (*i. e.* Algoa Bay,) which is the only place that has not been examined; but the Frenchman who has disturbed the peace of Europe, has put us also upon our guard.

The Kaffers. 1689, April. Commentary.

We have scarcely, that I know of, to this day any better account of the Kaffers, living on the frontier of the colony, than that furnished by the Cape government in April, 1689, to the Chamber; taken chiefly, or altogether, from the information furnished by the shipwrecked sailors of the *Stavenisse*, seven of whom had resided amongst the Magoses, or Amakosas, for 35 months. Any one who knows any thing of the Kaffers, will agree with the Cape government and the sailors, that it would be impossible to buy any slaves amongst that tribe, and that they love one another with a remarkable strength of affection. Their riches then, as now, appear to have consisted in their cattle; but I did not know that they then understood the art of smelting copper and iron, although their country produces abundance of the ores of those metals, and of lead. The land was then, as now, common to all, each pasturing his cattle, and cultivating without let or hindrance, provided only he did not quit the bounds of the community to which he belonged. The country was then, as now, exceedingly fertile, full of cattle, and goats, with but few sheep, for they do not thrive so near the sea-shore; and the Dutch considered it to be incredibly populous. They then preserved their corn in cavities under-ground, and there it kept good and free from weevils for years. In their intercourse with one another they were then, as now, civil, polite, and talkative; saluting one another whenever they met; asking for news, and whether they had acquired any new dances or tunes. Although courteous and hospitable to strangers and travellers, having a house of entertainment in every village, where they were lodged and fed, free, gratis; there were then, as now, among the Kaffers vagabonds, who were apt to covet and help themselves to other men's iron and copper, and probably long-horned cattle too; but of the latter,

the poor shipwrecked sailors had little to tempt their avarice. Revenge was then, as now, little known amongst the Kaffers, for the chief of every kraal had authority to settle, on the spot, any disputes, and to his decree all submitted without a murmur. In matters of greater importance, or when he doubted his own judgment, the decision of some superior neighbouring authority was sought and easily obtained. A father's jurisdiction over his son did not extend with impunity to the administering of such a beating as should draw blood, a state of things not apparently consistent with the patriarchal form of rule under which the Kaffers lived. The Dutchmen had not an opportunity of judging of their courage, for in those days there were no wars amongst the Kaffers. They found an old Portuguese, with his wife and children, land, and cattle, living amongst them, who had forty years before been shipwrecked on their coast, on his homeward voyage from India. The Kaffers. 1689, April.

The Kaffers had three kinds of corn, beans; and eight different kinds of fruits, and wild game in abundance in the forests. Those who now travel amongst the Kaffers will miss the stately giraffe and a thousand other things of greater or less interest. And what has the poor Kaffer gained by his intercourse with the European, in exchange for his enjoyments of that period? I hear many people say that his condition is improved, but I have myself been unable to see that it is so in any respect. It appears to be impossible to fix the exact limits to which this race had extended their power towards the South, when the European first encountered them. But there is no doubt that about the time of the British conquest of the colony in 1795, a considerable portion of the Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage Districts were in their possession; and although Plettenberg entered into an engagement

The Kaffers. 1689. April.

with some of them in 1778, fixing the Great Fish River as the boundary, the Dutch government was never able to carry out that measure ; nor was it perhaps desirable that they should have been able. Long after the conquest of the colony in 1806, we find the Kaffers spread over a portion of the district of George. Now the boundary is the Keiskama, almost five degrees of longitude farther East, although not many miles farther North. What did the Dutch government gain by their extension of territory? and what has the British government gained by this farther extension? Yet we not long ago narrowly escaped a farther extension to the banks of the Kei River.—*March 12th.*

Log-Book kept in the galliot Noord, during a voyage to De la Goa Bay, in latitude 26.

The *Noord* sailed from Table Bay on the 19th of October, 1688, anchored in Rio de la Goa Bay on the 15th of November, whence she sailed for Table Bay on the 30th December.

On the 4th of January, 1689, W. Chastian told the captain that the land opposite seemed to be that where he had lost his ship ; latitude, by reckoning, 29. 28. South, by meridian altitude 30. Whilst we lay at anchor we saw people on shore running, waving, and making fire. A boat was put out, and we saw two Dutchmen and one black. They were the boatswain and mates' boy of the *Stavenisse ;* they had only linen trowsers on ; they sprung into the water, came to us, and thanked God they were again among Christians. On the 5th we warped into Natal Bay ; the natives towed us along by a lead line, until about one-third myl within the entrance, where we anchored in 4½ fathoms. In the evening I and our quarter-master

accompanied the boatswain and the boy to their lodgings, where we found six very fine eattle; after fastening one for slaughter next day, I went with the others to a kraal, and ate some milk and bread of the new eorn. We found these people very eivil and kind, but without the least fear of God. In the afternoon of the 6th, the five siek men were brought to the post—one of them died in half an hour, and was interred on the hill, whieh is ealled the Engelsche Logie. In the evening, I went on board, after proeuring water, which stood in large holes, the native women earried it on board, or to the boat, in large pots. On the 7th, the natives came to the opposite bank of the bay with milk, bread, and pumpkins, to barter; we got about a quart of milk for six or seven beads, so that our ship had milk standing about everywhere; we got two fowls for six or seven beads, and for eight or nine six or seven pumpkins, so that these natives prefer beads to food, for we bought about half a pound of bread for five or six beads. On the 16th, I went with the mate and the boy of the *Stavenisse*, about a myl up the river, we found fresh water and good people, who at once gave us milk for beads; henee we struek direetly aeross the eountry for the vessel, guided by three or four natives, singing as they went. Our party, who had been out eight days, returned on the same day, the mineralogist brought some stones, with some red-glittering sand stone; they had been about 24 or 25 mylen from the galliot, to the flat hills, whieh we could see from the vessel; these hills are level on the top, with fine grass, but uninhabited. On the 20th, I went to the opposite shore to barter, there saw about ten natives, with milk, beans, and poultry, so that I bought about a sack of beans, a half-aum of milk, ten or twelve fowls, and sixteen pumpkins. On the 31st, our mate, and the

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boatswain of the *Stavenisse,* were sent on shore to try to buy a calf for the siek, and at the same time to leave three letters in the hands of a trusty friend, one of the natives, where the boatswain and W. Christian had resided for fully a year; as they were quite satisfied that the blaek would take good care of them, they returned in the evening with a young heifer. Twenty-third, at day-light, weighed and made sail; 26th, saw the land, and steered along shore, estimated our latitude 33. 2., longitude 50. 46.; this was near a river; we saw about one and a half myl West of us, the large roek where, the year before, the men had been embarked; on the 28th, we passed the said rock about the third glass of the morning watch, and anchored one and a half myl to the East of it, before a great river, where the surf broke heavily, so that we saw no ehance of entering; we instantly put the boat out to feteh the people, they pulled towards the shore with six men, on approaching the surf dropped the kedge, and Arien Keint, the boatswain, whom we had brought from Natal, swam through the surf with a letter to be given to the Duteh; this was instantly undertaken by the natives, at the request of the boatswain, who swam baek to the boat, and returned on board; he said the people lived about three hours' distant, and that they would soon eome; upon their arrival, about 2 p.m., the boat was again sent to the shore, but before reaching the surf, one of the men swam out, through the surf, to meet it. He was an old man, named Pay Isaaq, the other stood on the shore, and desired that we should come and take him from the great roek, where he could better get through the surf; the boat then returned to the ship with the old man, who, as soon as he got on board, thanked God, and reported that two of the men who had been with him, returned on the 1st of January for the lodge,

whence we had brought the boatswain and the boy. The Kaffers. 1689, April. It begun to blow, and we were obliged to weigh and make sail. The rock is in latitude 33. 23., longitude 50, being about a myl from the land. All further attempts to get the man off failed, and at last he waved to them, from the shore, to go away.

Mr. Moodie says, in a note, that the longitudes were probably calculated from the meridian of Teneriffe, and that Humboldt's observations placed the difference between the meridian of Teneriffe and that of Greenwich at 16. 12. 45. "A surveyor, appointed to take astronomical observations during the journey of Reutter, in 1752, places the mouth of the Swartkops River in lat. 34. 57., long. 44. 17. The following entry furnishes another test of the accuracy of the log-book of the *Noord*, which, together with that of the *Centaur*, seems to fix the position of the Kaffers at that period.—Sunday, 24th October, 1688:—This morning we saw an eclipse of the sun, about 5h. 38m. 48s.; the middle, as seen by us, was at 6h. 22m. 48s.; lat. at noon by account 35. 58.—by observation, 36. 0.—long. 32. 52.

Mr. Moodie says in another note:—"It is stated in a Resolution of this date, that as the *Noord* had been prevented by bad weather from examining Mossel Bay and that of De la Goa, (*i. e.* Algoa Bay, the present De la Goa Bay having been formerly distinguished as Rio de la Goa,) that vessel should be forthwith sent back to complete the survey of these Bays."

Commentary. It appears from all this that the galliot *Noord* having been dispatched from Table Bay, on the 19th October, anchored in the Bay of Natal on the 4th of the following January, 1689, having intermediately been at De la Goa; that the natives of Natal towed them within the entrance by a lead line; that in the evening

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of the same day the commander of the galliot accompanied two of the sailors of the shipwrecked *Stavenisse* (who had come on board) to their residence, where they found them in possession of six fine young cattle; that they then went to a neighbouring kraal, where they were feasted by the natives on milk and bread made of their new corn; that the people were civil and kind to them, as they certainly had been to the shipwrecked man and boy, during their long residence amongst these natives—allowing them to accumulate property. The native women carried water on board, or to their boats, in large pots, and the natives established a market on the opposite bank of the bay, where a quantity of milk was bought for a few beads, a fowl for three beads, and pumpkins for about a bead each, and the pound of bread for twelve beads. So plentiful were the commodities that the captain of the vessel fancies that the natives preferred beads to food, forgetting that they only bartered to him out of their superfluity, and that beads were then scarce commodities at Natal. Proceeding about three mylen from the vessel, and about a myl up the banks of a river, the Dutch still found good people who gave them milk for beads. Another party with a mineralogist were absent eight days and proceeded unobstructed 25 mylen to the north of the galliot. Sixteen days after their arrival 100 natives came to them with milk, beans, and poultry, and the captain bought from them a sack of beans, half an aum of milk, a dozen of fowls, and sixteen pumpkins—whilst the mate and boatswain of the *Stavenisse*, procured a calf from them as food for the sick, leaving their letters in the hands of a native, a trusty friend, with whom they had resided fully a year. Whilst travelling across the country to their ship, the Europeans were guided by three or four natives, who sang as they went merrily along.

Who will not regret that if England was to interfere in the affairs of Natal at all, it should not have been to protect this innocent and happy people against the invasion of the Zoolas, under the chief CHAKA, a few years since. And who will not still more regret that she should have allowed her Dutch subjects to disturb the peace and harmony of that country—to usurp their lands and to play the same game in that foreign country, as they had been playing amongst the unhappy aborigines of the Cape Colony for 150 years before. But it is still more unaccountable that she should have permitted her subjects to organize a government of their own on the very threshold of her colony; that when they committed an act of overt rebellion in opposing her troops, she did not punish them as rebels deserve to be punished, by sending a force sufficient to crush all their aspirations after power; that having reduced them to a sense of their duty and allegiance, the rebels—leaders and followers —should not have been punished, as rebels deserve to be punished. But what is still more extraordinary, that negotiations should have been entered into with armed rebels, and that they should, for years together, have been permitted to establish the semblance of independent power.

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The galliot *Noord*, having taken the boatswain and the boy of the *Stavenisse*, sailed on the 23rd to the south, in search of the other missing men of that vessel; and, after having been driven out to sea, anchored, on the 28th, one and a half mile to the east of a great rock, and before a great river, in lat. 33. 2. Who, that has rode along that beautiful sea beach from the mouth of the Cowie to the mouth of the Great Fish River, does not see that this is the great projecting rock, between which and the sea he can only pass at low water—and that it was before the

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Great Fish River that the galliot anchored. The rock is the same from which, or in the neighbourhood of which, the nineteen shipwrecked mariners of the *Stavenisse* were received on board the *Hooker Centaur*, from the chief of the Magossehe or Amakose Kaffers, in lat. 32. 50., on the 9th of February, 1688. Arien Keint, the boatswain of that ship, now swam from the boat, through the surf, to the shore, with a letter to be given to the natives, for delivery to any Dutchmen who might be found there. This the natives instantly undertook to do, and presently brought two men to the shore. One of them, an old man, Pay Isaaq, swarm through the surf to the boat, and the other wished to be taken on board from the rock, but this was found impracticable; at last he signalized his countrymen from the shore to desist from further attempts, and they sailed away and left him there. It does not yet appear what became of the 12 men who, contrary to the advice of the Magossehe Kaffers, left their comrades on this coast, to prosecute their journey overland to the Cape, through the country of the Batuas, and other tribes, armed with bows and arrows, who they were told by the Kaffers would murder them.

Mr. Moodie, who has studied the Cape Records more deeply than perhaps any other person in the colony, appears to have no doubt that this coast was in possession of the Kaffers in 1688-9. There cannot, I think, be the least doubt of this; and it is, of course, impossible to say how much nearer they may have approached to the Cape peninsula at that time. We know that they did extend farther to the South and West, when the colony was conquered by the English in 1795 and 1806, yet I hear many people say, that as the Kaffers were foreigners, and are believed to have conquered the country from Hottentots or Bosje-

mans, they ought to be driven beyond the Kei River. The Kaffers.
No one can say what classes of men England should 1689, April.
substitute for the Kaffers, who would not certainly willingly, and perhaps could not at all, with their followers and cattle, live under British rule. But all seem agreed, that if they are to be Dutch or English colonists, the mother country must increase her expenditure enormously to maintain them in their new locations. Neither does any person seem to have a very well defined notion of the right which England would have to question the right of the Kaffers to continue in possession of the lands where she first found them; or, if England is to enter into the complicated question of the right of native tribes to particular tracts of country, how far back she is to prosecute this inquiry? But these are important matters which England will, of course, well consider before she enters on the inquiry at all, or on the adjustment of such questions.—*March* 16*th*.

Resolution of Council.

It was resolved to send the galliot *Noord* to the bay October.
of Natal, to fetch the remaining people of the *Stavenisse*, and to endeavour to purchase on the Company's account under a formal and duly executed contract with the chief of that country, the said bay and some of the land around it, for merchandize—such as beads, copper, ironwork, and such other articles as are liked by them; the galliot shall then return hither along the coast, and with all possible care, sound and survey the bay of De la Goa (Algoa), to see whether it may not be suitable for the Company's homeward bound fleets; and to use the same precautions in saving the crew of the *Stavenisse*, and in purchasing that bay

The Kaffers. 1689, October.

and the adjoining land from its chief or inhabitants, which have been ordered with regard to Natal.

Journal continued.—The commander, this day, 25th, delivered the following instructions to the officers of the galliot *Noord* :—

1st. You will proceed from this place to Natal and De la Goa; 2d and 3rd, endeavour to save the residue of the crew of the *Stavenisse;* 4th, watching a fitting opportunity, you will enter into a negotiation with the chief, or so called Ingose, solemnly to purchase from him, for the Honourable Company, for beads, copper, ironmongery, and such other articles as they have a liking for, the bay of Natal and the adjoining land, and you will have a deed of conveyance *in communi et solemni forma*, written by LAWRENCE VAN SWAANSWYCK, passed before commissioned members of the ship's council, and signed by the said Ingose, and some of his nearest relatives, taking good care that the articles of merchandize for which the bay and adjoining land are purchased, are not noticed in the deed, except in general terms, and that the amount of the same be estimated at nineteen or twenty thousand guilders.

5th. Having effected this, you will run down the coast, and endeavour to make the Bay de la Goa in from 33. to 34. South latitude, and to ascertain whether, as stated by the Portuguese, and laid down in their charts, there is a round sand bank in the entrance; you will carefully sound the bay, and have a chart of it drawn.

6th. With regard to securing the missing men of the *Stavenisse*, and to the purchase of this bay, you will use the same precautions which are above stated in the 4th article, and you will, above all, attend carefully to your duty and the interests of the Company, taking good note of every thing which may be

in any way profitable, or is worthy of remark, and having such things carefully entered in your log-book. The Kaffers. 1689. October.

Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that the term Ingose, resembles the Kaffer term for the word chief, and probably signifies the office, and not the name; and in another Note, that in the Parliamentary Papers, Part II., page 95, is the following account of the 4th article of these instructions:—"The commander of the expedition, in the 4th article of his instructions, was directed to buy from Ingose, the chief, the bay of Natal and the adjacent country, for beads, copper, and cutlery, or what might please the natives, to the value of 29,000 guilders." "That part of this erroneous notice, which relates to the amount, seems to have arisen from an inaccurate copy of the instructions inserted in the Journal 1689, and probably in the copy also which accompanied the despatch of 24th May, 1690; among other errors of less importance, the copy of the Journal runs—("negen-en-twintig duizend guldens") twenty-nine thousand guilders."

Commentary.

The only portion of the instructions from the Cape government to the commander of their galliot, the *Noord*, which appears worthy of comment, is the 4th article. The Dutch authorities had apparently become ashamed of the exposure which followed the publicity given to their dealings in the purchase of the Cape and Hottentots' Holland* Districts—for the value of the merchandize for which they bought both those districts was about *f.* 100—they now direct that good care shall be taken that the articles of merchandize for which the bay of Natal and the adjoining land is purchased, shall only be noticed in the deed in general terms, and the amount of the merchandize shall be

* It appears in some part of "The Record," I think, that when the Dutch first went to that place, the Hottentots said, considering it their best pasture land—"Oh, you must not come here, this is our Holland."

The Kaffers. 1689, October.

estimated at 19,000 or 20,000 guilders. The purchase was, of course, a mere fictitious transaction, entered into by the Dutch to give them a semblance of claim to Natal in the eyes of other European powers, or to justify any claim which they might make to that country. One would have thought that the House of Commons would have very soon decided on the merits and value of a transaction of this kind. Yet, by many persons in the colony, this disgraceful transaction of the Dutch in 1689, has been held as a reason why England should now claim Natal. It does not appear whether Algoa Bay was purchased on the return voyage on similar terms, but the probability is, that it was not; since the galliot, which left Natal on the 11th of January, 1690, was on the 16th run ashore high and dry on a rocky reef, 14 mylen from the West point of that bay, where she bilged, and was three days after blown up by the crew. Neither does it appear, that I see, for what sum Drakenstein was bought. The Cape government notice, for the first time, the Portuguese in the 5th article of their instructions to the commander of the *Noord*, although they must have known that the Portuguese had settlements on the East coast of Africa, about 200 years before; and it now seems pretty certain that Bartholomew Diaz erected a cross on the island, which he named Santa Croiz, in Algoa Bay, in September, 1486.—*Algoa Bay, March 17th.*

Dispatch from Simon van der Stell *and Council to the Chamber* XVII.

1690, May.

The galliot, the *Noord*, sailed from Table Bay on the 28th of last October, intending, according to verbal, as well as written instructions—a copy of the latter being herewith transmitted,—to proceed first

to False Bay to be hove down and cleaned, and thence to sail for the bay of Natal. But meeting with severe South-east winds, they put into Saldanha Bay on the 30th, and after having been there cleaned, sailed on the 12th of November, and on the 4th of December, arrived before the bay of Natal, which she safely entered on the following day, and after embarking the residue of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, and solemnly purchasing that bay, with some surrounding land, from the king and chiefs of those parts, for some merchandize, consisting of copper, arm and neck-rings, and other articles, upon behalf of the Honourable Company, whose marks were set up upon various places, and proper attention having been paid to every thing, they sailed on the 11th January following, and a few days after put into the so-called Bay de la Goa (Algoa) without anchoring, however, but keeping under sail; it was no bay, but only a bight, quite open to the sea, having three or four visible rocks in the middle, and fully as many in its entrance. Having on the following day, towards the afternoon, left the bight De la Goa with a stiff top-sail breeze from the Eastward, steering W. by S., and in the evening, in order to keep clear of all danger, West South-west, after running, according to their reckoning, 14 mylen from the West point of De la Goa, in the third glass of the first watch, or between 9 or 10 o'clock at night, the wind as before, they ran almost high and dry on a rocky reef, extending almost quarter myl from the main land, although the mate, C. Hermans, who had charge of the watch, knew the coast, and was the person who made a chart of it. The galliot being instantly bilged by the high surf, and the hold being full of water, they managed, an hour after, when the tide was out, to save themselves by getting, dry-footed, along the rocks, to the shore. The next day they

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returned to the wreck, out of which they took some arms, ammunition, and provisions, and three days after blew her up.

They stayed together, on the beach, until the 23d of January, searching about in vain, in every direction, for inhabitants and for food; and then determined, before their food was quite exhausted, to set out for the Cape. They were in all 18 men, and after travelling in company for some days, without meeting a single man, they divided into two, and finally into three parties; and, at length, on the 27th of March, four of them arrived here in a miserable condition, having been stripped and ill-treated by the Canovers Hottentots, who live by plunder. Every exertion has already been made for the rescue of the remaining persons of the crew, and no pains shall be spared to procure some information about them, and to bring them hither. It is very surprising that nothing whatever can be heard of them in a country so close to the Cape, through which we have frequently travelled; to avoid prolixity, we beg, however, to refer to the annexed Narrative.

Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that among a variety of other curious narratives likely to afford a correct knowledge of the early state of the more Easterly tribes of Hottentots, the paper here alluded to is not to be found in the Colonial Office.

And in a further Note, on the 1st of June, 1691, the Directors advert to the loss of the *Noord*, without taking any notice of the purchase of Natal.—"The galliot appears to have been shamefully thrown away; had the lead been used, and other precautions been adopted, the loss would, no doubt, have been avoided. The Fiscal would have had his action on the subject, had not the master, and the mate, and the men saved, had such a miserable journey, and had not so many of them

so unfortunately lost their lives." In the same letter the Directors find fault with the high rates charged against the French, and other colonists, for farming implements; and it was directed, that all necessary materials should be sold at prime cost to French and Dutch, without distinction, without any profit to the Company; "you charging them fifteen guilders for a fathom of old rope, wanted to trim their vines, is a thing unheard of." The Kaffers. 1690, May.

This is the last dispatch of the Cape Government which I shall have to notice under the Kaffer Head for some time, for with this dispatch "The Record" closes, and does not recommence until November, 1769. What happened either towards the Kaffers or other tribes, must therefore remain unknown until it pleases the administration in Holland to furnish the British Government with their Records. I have already said, under the Hottentot Head of this date, that there are good reasons for supposing that the measures of the Dutch Government of the Cape were of too atrocious a character to bear publication, and that they have been destroyed, or that at all events they will never, in the present day, be given up for publication in the face of Europe. What became of the remaining men of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, will never, therefore, in all probability be known. Yet, there is some consolation in believing that their lives and property were safe enough, amongst the natives of the Natal country, and amongst the Kaffers on the East Coast, where I hear that many of their descendants, as well as of the descendants of the *Grosvenor* and *Dodington*, English East Indiamen, which were wrecked on the same coast more than a hundred years after, are still to be found. The eighteen men of the galliot *Noord*, who were cast on shore on the desolate coast about Cape Recief, at Algoa Bay, on the 23rd Commentary.

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of January, where they remained some days without finding a single inhabitant, had a poor chance of reaching the Cape, since they had to pass through a country inhabited by wandering tribes of Bosjemans, armed with bows and arrows, against whom the shipwrecked men of the *Stavenisse* had been warned by the friendly Magossche Kaffers—yet twelve of these men braved the danger, and, contrary to the advice of the Kaffers, proceeded to join their countrymen at the Cape—the probability is that they never arrived there, since no further notice is taken of them in the records; yet four of the crew of the *Noord* reached Cape Town in two months and four days, in a miserable condition, having been plundered by the Canovers, probably a tribe of Bosjemans. Van der Stell is surprised that nothing can be heard of the remaining fourteen men, although the country was so close to the Cape, and had been so frequently travelled; forgetting, apparently, that they had to travel westward through 8. of longitude, and in a country where the proceedings of Ensign Schryver and his party, the only Dutchmen, I think, who had ever traversed it, were of a character to excite the hatred of the natives towards Europeans.

The concluding passage of the dispatch from the Directors of the 17th of June, 1691, shows how much more mercifully the authorities in Holland were disposed to deal with the French refugees, than the authorities at the Cape were. Yet the Dutch government, in truth, has never been lauded for its colonial administration. Witness their conduct at Java, at the present day, towards English and other foreigners settled there; and their conduct towards the people of Sumatra, and those of their little settlement opposite, Singapore. The same proceedings have lost them all their most valuable possessions in India—

Cochin, Chinsura, &c.—and Deman and Dieu they are perhaps not likely to hold long. Of the French refugees, who left Texel on the 27th July, 1688, in the *Alkmaar*, thirty-seven died on the passage; the remainder, about 150, of whom 104 were sick, landed at the Cape on the 27th of the following January. See the conditions on which they were sent out, page 440 of "The Record." These, so far as I see, are the only body of emigrants who ever came to the colony during the Dutch rule over it; and there can be no doubt that their descendants now form some of the most valuable colonists in South Africa. The spirit in which the colonial government received them may be understood from their charging them fifteen guilders for a fathom of rope, on which to train their vines; and it was perhaps creditable to the Chamber, that it should have reproached the colonial government with this proceeding, instructed them to treat French and Dutch alike, and to sell to all at prime cost, or, at least, not to seek to make profit on such transactions.—*March 18th.*

The Kaffers. 1690, May.

Mr. Attorney-General BANNISTER's Work contains the only letters of Dr. VAN DER KEMP, within my reach; and they are given in Appendix No. 3 of his "Humane Policy; or, Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements,"—4to, 1830.

BANNISTER.

There can be no doubt, I think, that Mr. BANNISTER's Work must have produced much of the good which its benevolent author anticipated; and any one who has studied it attentively may trace many of the reforms, and much of the self-denying and restraining policy which has been the rule of the British government in the management of the Cape colony in late years. I have already extracted largely from the Work, in treating of the Kaffer question, and have again referred to it, in the hope of finding much in VAN

Commentary.

The Kaffers.

DER KEMP's letters suitable to my purpose. I shall accordingly proceed to the consideration of VAN DER KEMP's letters, as given in the Appendix No. 3.—BANNISTER says, "that three documents, which he gives in Appendix No. 2, contain examples of the ordinary practices at the Cape towards the natives for upwards of a century; namely, unprovoked aggressions, and deferred redress, together with rigorous prohibitions of intercourse, and strict injunctions against encroachments on the native lands, which, however, were no sooner thronged by the trespassing parties, than government extended its bounds, and so rewarded the delinquents. In this way the colony has spread from the three hours from Table Bay to Hottentot's Holland; then to Swellendam; then to the Gamtoos River; then to the Fish River; then in 1825 and 1829 to the Keiskama; to the heads of the Kye and the Cradock, with perhaps more intervening stopping places, and as frequent protestation to remain content with the last reached limit." Who can doubt that representions of this kind, coming from a man like Mr. BANNISTER, with the experience which the ministry had of the utter worthlessness of such conquests or usurpations, and the knowledge which they had gained of the enormous expense to the mother country of farther extension and usurpations must, in a considerable degree, have led to the resolution, on the part of the home authorities, to stop the farther extension of the colony to the right bank of the Kye River, and even beyond that river in 1834, as well as have dictated Lord GLENELG's letter of the end of that year, directing the relinquishment of Province Adelaide! I have said, I think, in a former part of this Memoir, that I traced to the reasoning of Mr. BANNISTER the resolution of the Cape government, during the administration of the

late Sir Lowry Cole, to establish the Hottentot settlement on the Kat River. Since that part of my Memoir was written, I have satisfied myself by reference to very competent authority, that there was abundant reason for expelling Makomo from those lands, because of his aggression on the colony, when he followed a tribe of the Tambookie Kaffers within the border, and destroyed many of them in that position. The question of the justice or expediency of expelling Makomo from that tract, a portion of the territory of his father Gaika, and of his tribe, was the only doubt, I should think, which any person could have entertained relating to the admirable measure of restoring to the Hottentots and Bosjemans a small portion of the land, not very long ago all their own, from that neighbourhood, to the promontory. Had injustice been done to Makomo, most people would regret the measure, productive, although it has been, of immense good to the six hundred Hottentot and Bosjeman families located in their own cottages, and on their own fields, on the banks of the Kat River. I was fortunate enough to visit most of those locations, in company either with the Rev. Mr. Read, or with Mr. Fynn, the Political Resident with the Tambookies; and satisfied myself that there can hardly be a more prosperous or industrious agricultural peasantry in any part of the world. Any person who may entertain any doubts on this subject, has only to do as I did, to have, I think, those doubts removed. It is unnecessary again to enter or dwell upon the painful subject of the mighty evils inflicted upon the unhappy aborigines through the encroachments made upon their pastoral rights, as shown by Mr. Bannister. They are, however, the more to be lamented, since, without enriching the European, these encroachments have made them poor indeed. There is

The Kaffers, this distinction between conquest and usurpation in most other countries, and conquest and usurpation here; although it does not appear to have occurred to most of those who have discussed the subject. In other countries the conqueror generally takes only the sovereign's share; here all has been taken, for, although there is a division of land amongst the different chiefs of a community, that division has not yet taken place which recognizes the individual rights of the subject to specific portions of the land, for pasturage rights are common to all. The foreign conquerors, or usurpers, have not recognized those pasturage rights on the part of the aborigines, but have, with a greediness and cruelty, unknown in other countries, divided the whole of the lands amongst their own countrymen. How then was it possible for the aborigines to exist in their own country as a free people? They were accordingly forced to flee to other less barbarous tribes beyond the European border, or to submit to a condition of servitude within it. It would be a curious, but now, probably, a useless, and certainly a painful inquiry to endeavour to ascertain what would have been the condition of the native tribes and of the Europeans, had it been the policy of the latter to have left them in undisturbed possession of their lands. The Europeans would then, from necessity, have become an agricultural instead of a pastoral people; and the natives, following their example, might have become, after a time, agricultural likewise. But even if they had remained pastoral, they could hardly have proved less valuable subjects to either Holland or to England than the European has been; or than, it may be feared, he is likely to continue, unless he can be turned from pastoral to agricultural pursuits; if, indeed, the nature of the climate and of the soil would admit of his following the latter occupation with any

chance of success, in most of the districts of the colony. Had the British government agreed, as was proposed to them a few years since, to extend our frontier to the Kei River, we must necessarily have broken up the Kaffer clans on the border, for as unbroken tribes they could not probably subsist under our rule, even if we left them their lands, and if we gave those lands, as has hitherto been the usage to our own colonists, the whole people would have been forced back upon the Natal and De la Goa Bay territory, and into a condition probably more deplorable than that in which we found the Fingoes,* who had a few years before, or about the same time, been forced upon the Kaffer people by CHAKA, DINGAAN, and other Zoola conquerors. We should thus have produced the very evil of which we complain in the barbarians of the North-east coast of Africa. A further peculiarity of our conquest would have been, that by forcing this mighty body of men, women, and children, to fall back upon other nations in the centre and Northern portions of Africa (for the tide of conquest and expatriation must have rolled on), we should have disturbed the degree of permanency which native society has begun to assume. Conquest used to begin from the North, and the tide of emigration to flow Southward, from the Arabs, the Egyptians, and other races of men. Now, the English would have forced it to take another, but not less injurious direction, and in the end, it might, or must, have reached Egypt and Arabia.—*March 30th.* The Kaffers.

"Previous to 1795, great reforms were resolved upon in Holland in regard to Cape transactions; and Sir JAMES CRAIG, the first English governor of the Cape, adopted all the just views which were beginning to favor the aborigines in the time of our Bata-

* Fingo, Mr. FYNN told me, merely means a wanderer, a man without a country.

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vian predecessors; his excellency's testimony to the merit of the Hottentot soldiers; his steady support of the Moravians, the only missionaries in the colony in his time, and his firm repression of an attempt to sieze the lands of the Koonap, have been well recorded by Mr. Barrow, to Sir James' lasting praise." —P. cix., Ap. No. 3.

Commentary.

It was very gratifying, in discussing the war measures of the Dutch administration at the Cape in 1780-1, to be able in one of my Commentaries to speak in terms of almost unqualified praise of the proceedings of the government, those of the landdrost, and those of the commandant of the Eastern frontier, towards the Kaffers from July, 1780, to July, 1781, when their Records close. With the proceedings of the British government, it is not my purpose to interfere, for those have been, doubtless, dictated by that superior enlightenment which belonged, not only to that country in her colonial system of policy generally, but to the period of her rule over the Cape colony. Her principal difficulty has arisen, apparently, from her having had to contend against the vicious system introduced by her predecessor, in founding a pastoral instead of an agricultural colony, in which condition thousands, or tens of thousands, of acres are necessary for the support of individual families, instead of hundreds, or tens of hundreds. I hear many people say, that if General Janssens had continued to rule over the colony, and if it had continued under the Dutch instead of under the British government, the Cape of Good Hope would, at the present day, be a more valuable possession than it is. Less valuable it could hardly be to the mother country; or rather, more expensive, for greater or equal expense Holland could not bear. The only value that could ever attach to the Cape Colony would be through an extension of

just and merciful dealing with aborigines; and in that respect, Dutch administration would certainly have been worse than English. It was the constant object and endeavour of the Dutch to assist its subjects in their encroachments on the rights of the aborigines; and there can be no doubt but that it has been the object of the English to restrain her subjects, whether Dutch or English, in this respect. Still there is no doubt that in this respect even England has not been successful, and that there has been a great, useless, and expensive extension of the boundary since the conquest of 1806. The policy which would effectually have prevented this extension, has not, unhappily, even to the present day, been adopted. Yet it was simple enough. The first principle was, of course, that every British subject, whether Dutch or English, might emigrate to any country he chose, and live under the protection of its ruler, and subject to its laws. The second, that British subjects, whether Dutch or English, might not combine to form separate administrations, without violating national law. The third, that if they combined for the purpose of making conquests, and those whose country they violated, appealed to England, then international law would force England to recall her subjects. What has principally enabled the Dutch Boers, under Retief, Potgieter, Pretorius, and other leaders of their unlawful commandoes, to commit the horrors and excesses of which they themselves boast, against Matsellikatze and Dingaan, in their capacity of land-pirates, is, of course, their possession of arms and organization, superior to those possessed by the Zoolas, the Kaffers, and other tribes, whose countries they have invaded.* It was surely more incumbent

* See Mr. Chase's Work, printed at Graham's Town, 1843.

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on England to have thrown open her treasury and magazines for the supply of money, arms, and ammunition to those tribes against her own subjects, if she did not herself choose to arm in their defence, than it was to throw them open to Spain for defence against French aggression. But this is indeed comparing little things with great.*—*March 30th.*

* For an account of the dissensions created amongst the native tribes in the Natal territory by the insurgent boers, the sort of administration which they formed, the wars which they waged, the manner in which they unmade and made kings,—see CHASE'S pamphlet of 1843: — "PANDA proved himself faithful to his new allies (the Dutch boers), and without their aid fell upon the despot, cut to pieces two of his regiments, and routed a third, one half of which came over to the conquerors. Thirty-six thousand head of cattle were thus taken and distributed amongst the sufferers, and PANDA was at once elevated to the sovereignty over the Zoolas, with the same right, and under the same pressure of circumstances, as dictated the policy of England in India; and he, the vassal, entered into a treaty of amity, everlasting peace, friendship, and mutual defence, with the emigrants," page 119 *et sequel.*—"As soon as they left the place, the enemy returned to their hold. As our ammunition was much diminished, and our horses mostly knocked up, our men were obliged, without doing any thing more, to return to the camp. It was difficult to state how many of the enemy were killed in this rencontre; many are the conjectures. I have, therefore, only confined myself to the ascertained number of killed, being upwards of 1,000."—Signed, A. W. J. PRETORIUS, Chief Commander, page 74. "It was resolved by the chief commandant that whatever the number of cattle captured, no more than 40,000 should be received by the emigrants, that being the amount of the demand made by the Volksraad, as indemnification for the losses sustained by the Zoolah chief. It was further resolved to halt the army, and to send forward a detachment of 200 mounted men in pursuit of the enemy. That evening a drove of 600 of the captured cattle was brought to the camp, and the next day (Sunday, 2nd February, 1840,) a second, containing 2,400 head. "Proclamation by PRETORIUS, chief commandant and commander general of the burgers of the right worshipful Volksraad of the South African Society of Port Natal, &c., goes on to declare that on account of the unprovoked war which the Zoola king, or the Zoola nation, had commenced against the South African Society, which was compelled to incur an expense of 122,600 Rds. for horses and waggonhire, and other expenses of the war, and since the Zoola king was believed to have abandoned his country—he, PRETORIUS, in the name of the Volks-

"A treaty was made with GAIKA, in 1789, upon the occasion when Mr. BARROW was first in Kaffer-land, and the false principle of non-intercourse was then persevered in with the utmost rigour. The treaty provides, that no Kaffer should pass the boundaries, and "that none of GAIKA's subjects should have any intercourse whatever with the colonists." Upon this occasion too the error was committed of treating with one chief as the sovereign of the country, although he expressly disclaimed the sole authority, as he did afterwards in 1817. Even at this period this mistake which led to much mischief, before it was corrected in 1823, was inexcusable, as means existed of learning that numerous Kaffers, more immediately in contact with the Colony, were independent of GAIKA; and they had been the most deeply injured by the Boers. This disregard of national rights deserves to be contrasted with the benevolent objects of the following proclamations, which seem to have been the result of the mission to GAIKA:—

"June 27th, 1797.

"Whereas the unlimited intercourse between the people of this colony and the Kaffers, occasions many serious inconveniences; to obviate which, I have directed the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, not to suffer any Kaffers henceforth to pass and repass the established line of their territory, without being provided

raad, seized all the land from the Togala to the Umfiloza Umgana River; and that their boundary shall in future be from the Sea to that River. These lands and sea coasts will, however, have to be considered the property of the society, exclusive from that which the late Mr. RETIEF obtained from the Zoola nation for our society. God save the Volksraad. —Page 128."

It will hardly be credited in future times that such things could have been done with impunity, and boasted of by British subjects on the frontier of the Cape Colony in 1840.

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with passes of authority so to do, or with a passport signed and sealed by the said landdrost; and in order the more effectually to obviate the inconvenience resulting from the present state of intercourse, I have judged it expedient to require that all inhabitants who have in their service, or in any other manner harbour any Kaffers, shall, within twelve months, liberate and discharge the same, and provide themselves with other servants or slaves.—MACARTNEY."

"*July* 14*th*, 1798.

"Whereas hitherto no exact limits have been marked out, respecting the boundaries between this colony and the Kaffers, and in consequence of such limits not being regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of this settlement, have united in injuring the peaceable possessors of those countries, and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbing, and various other irregularities in order to support life;—

"I, therefore, after having previously taken proper information on the subject, have thought it expedient, for promoting the welfare of this settlement, and establishing good order in the more remote districts of it, to fix the following mentioned places, to be in future the boundaries of the colony:—

"Between the inhabitants and the Kaffers:—

"1st. The Great Fish River, as far as the Esterhuysjes Post, at the Kachas.

"2nd. The whole of the Kachas Mountains, as far as the Tarka Mountains.

"3rd. From the Tarka Mountains to the Bambocs Mountains.

"4th. From the Bamboes Mountains to the Zuur Mountains. The Kaffers.

"5th. From the Zuur Mountains to the Beaeon, situate on the Zeekoe River.

"And, whereas it is necessary that the boundaries should be duly observed, I, therefore, most strictly forbid all and every one of the inhabitants of this colony, from settling themselves, or permitting their cattle to pass beyond those limits, under penalty of the immediate confiscation of all their cattle, to be applied to the benefit of the colony, and as a disobedient subject to be banished from this settlement.

"And it is also hereby declared unlawful, under pain of corporeal punishment, for any person, under pretence of hunting sea-cows or elephants, or of taking a journey into the interior, to pass beyond the aforesaid limits, unless under a pass from the governor.—MACARTNEY."

Commentary.

It is true, as observed by the learned Attorney-General of N. S. Wales, that a treaty was entered into with GAIKA, in 1798, during Lord MACARTNEY's administration of the Cape Colony, treating with him as the supreme chief of the country, although he disclaimed such supremacy. With the particulars of PLETTENBERG's treaty with individual Kaffer chiefs, in 1778, Mr. BANNISTER was probably unacquainted, for "The Record" had not been published when he wrote. The renewal of the treaty with GAIKA, in 1817, was doubtless, as observed by Mr. BANNISTER, more unjustifiable than the treaties of 1778 and 1798—for we had at that period more the means of informing ourselves of the constitution of the Kaffer feudal confederacy. The injurious consequences of treating with an individual chief, instead of treating with the whole confederation, were in-

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juriously felt at the time, and are injuriously felt to the present day—both by ourselves and the Kaffers—but, unhappily, more by them than by us. It had the effect of creating disunion amongst them, and of fostering rebellion on the part of the inferior chiefs against the sovereignty of the confederacy, or against its principal leaders. That disunion was necessarily the cause of weakness in the whole body, and enabled the inhabitants of the more distant parts of the settlement to injure the "peaceable possessors" of those countries; thus producing the very results which Lord Macartney deprecated in his proclamation of the 14th July, 1798. We failed in the endeavour to support Gaika in that supremacy to which, contrary to his wish, we raised him; and, in the end, ruined both himself and his unfortunate son Makomo. The object of the Dutch government in prohibiting intercourse between the colonists and the Kaffers, as it had endeavoured to prohibit intercourse between the colonists and the Hottentots from the first period of its administration over the colony; and as it endeavours to prohibit intercourse between the people of Java, and other nations, to the present day, is plain enough—namely, that it might hold a monopoly of all things in its own hands. Lord Macartney's object was very different and very benevolent. It is obvious enough, that his lordship hoped through the non-intercourse prohibition, to save the native tribes from the encroachments of the European; but as this was a struggle against nature it has failed, as similar struggles have failed elsewhere; and it has been necessarily productive of injury to both parties. But we look now on such things with the light which time has shed upon such subjects, and it is hardly fair to discuss them in the full meridian light of our knowledge.

His Lordship's endeavour to keep the colonists within the limits which he assigned to them in 1798 would be amusing, if the subject were not painful. It is only a repetition of the attempt which had been so often made by the Dutch Government, and which had as often failed, from the want of power to enforce it; and is another example of "Hell is paved with good intentions." It is perhaps impossible here, as elsewhere, to keep a pastoral, and especially a nomade pastoral people on their specific boundaries; and here is another proof that in Africa the European colonist must follow the example of the Hottentot, the Bosjesman, and the Kaffer,—or follow that law of nature which Providence appears to have designed for the inhabitants of such regions; and accordingly we find both the Dutchman and the English spread beyond the Orange River, and all the way from that to Natal. The principle appears to have been overlooked in all this —that it is impossible for any country to keep its own subjects within a specific limit; as well might a hive of bees attempt to shut its door against the egress of its superfluous numbers. The object, in dealing with neighbouring and barbarous tribes, should obviously be to encourage them to resist encroachment, to preserve themselves unbroken, and when even in this form they may not be sufficiently powerful, to put arms into their hands, for that would give them power.—*Algoa Bay, March 31st.* The Kaffers.

The "*peaceable possessors*," BANNISTER continues, whom the Governor (Lord MACARTNEY) wishes to protect, were those whom he so little considered as to pretend to settle their most important interests without consulting them, although their independence could not be disputed. In 1799, the claims of the Kaffers (then firmly settled to the West of the Fish

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River, after fairly beating the Boers, and repulsing the English,) and the grievances of the Hottentots were more distinctly learned by the same envoy (Barrow) who has preserved a record of them in the second volume of his Travels. The title of T'Conga's tribe of those Kaffers seems to be admitted by Barrow; and Sir George Yonge, the Governor in the next year, considered it even politic to encourage the residence of some of them West of the Fish River, separate from Gaika's people. This was probably upon reasons of policy only; as no intention seems yet to have been entertained of attempting to civilize the Kaffers, or to intermix them gradually with ourselves. His Excellency however carried his views beyond a mere political division of a formidable enemy, into the prospects of one day honorably acquiring more extended limits to the Colony.

Sir George Yonge at this time declared that "he did not apprehend the peace would be broken on the part of the Kaffers, provided we took care to preserve it inviolable towards them."

That the governor well appreciated the feelings of Gaika, at least, may be collected from the following letter, written by Dr. van der Kemp at this time from Kafferland :—

Commentary.

The above extracts from Appendix No. 3, contain all the original matter which I need extract from Bannister, beyond what I have already extracted under the 1st Part of my Kaffer Head. He then proceeds to give letters written by Dr. van der Kemp to the colonial authorities, and from those authorities to Dr. van der Kemp, from 1800 to 1812—principally on the establishment of missionary stations within the colony, and in illustration of the treatment of the aborigines by the Colonial Government. The information furnished by Dr. van der Kemp was

doubtless of great value at the time, as it showed to some extent, at all events, the evils to which the colored races were subjected, and the sufferings which they sustained at the hands of their fellow colonists, the whites; and thus enabled the authorities to put their own colonial affairs—their house—in order. But as these evils have long since been remedied or mitigated, especially since the abolition of slavery, and since all live under the protection of equal laws, —it does not come within the province which I have assigned to myself, nor is it my object, to open old sores, or to dwell upon such things. The following letter from General DUNDAS, the Governor of the Colony, is, however, remarkable:— The Kaffers.

"*February 27th*, 1800.

"Our chief immediate object is to fix STUURMAN, and the other Hottentot leaders, with their people, in a suitable place for their subsistence. This point is essential to the present tranquillity.

"FRANCIS DUNDAS."

STUURMAN, and the other Hottentot leaders referred to, are, I think, a portion of those who joined the English under Brigadier VAN DE LEUR, when an attempt was made to put down the insurgent Dutch boers between Graaff-Reinet and Algoa Bay, during the administration of Lord MACARTNEY. Some of these subsequently joined the Kaffers, and excited that people to invade the colony; to assist them in taking vengeance against the Dutch government and people. Had General DUNDAS' wise and benevolent purpose of fixing the Hottentots on lands assigned to them for their subsistence been followed out, instead of the

measure, which was adopted, of giving these lands to Europeans, we should, at the present day, see many Hottentot settlements as prosperous as is now the Kat River Settlement; and then, how different would be the condition of the colony, and of the Hottentots themselves?

"*March 29th*, 1801.

"I have reason to believe that the Hottentots, instead of applying to government, when in want, often resort to plunder, thus outraging the protection they enjoy; and as they once suffered wrong from the boers, now they are encouraged to do violence on their part. This will lead to great evils if not checked in time; the task may be difficult, but it must be endeavoured to support the execution of the laws everywhere. Diligent search may be made after the robbers on this occasion; and it will be proper to call on T'Conga to aid in it."—George Yonge.

No one will, of course, question the principle, that it was the part of Sir George Yonge, as His Excellency says, to maintain the supremacy of the law. But neither will any one question that for a long period after this, the reciprocity was of an Irish kind, all on one side. It will not fail to be observed that the struggle on the part of the Hottentot leaders and people was against the Dutch Boers; and who can tell whether, if England had not come with her invincible power to the support of the latter, that struggle might not, long since, have prevailed; or whether Stuurman and the other Hottentot leaders, with their followers, now organized in some degree, after the fashion of Europeans, would not long since have re-conquered their own country? The sea coasts would have been open to all nations, arms and the munitions of war would have been supplied them in abundance; and gallant spirits, as their partisans,

would not have been wanting from all parts of Europe, to assist the aborigines in their struggle. But however this may be, the part which England has taken, and must continue to take, in protecting her Dutch subjects, gives in my opinion additional weight to the proposition which I made from Graaff-Reinet, on the 31st October, to purchase the Dutch out of their possessions, for the purpose of restoring those possessions to the aborigines, or to their descendants. The Kaffers.

The proposition which Sir George Yonge made in 1801, to call the T'Conga tribe of Kaffers to our aid, to enable us to maintain order within and beyond the colonial border was not, unfortunately, followed out, else we might at the present day have ten thousand of that race well armed and well disciplined for the suppression of domestic disturbance, or to repel foreign invasion. It would be worth almost any person's while to trace the rise, progress, and fall of the Hottentot patriot, Klaas Stuurman, noticed in General Dundas's letter of the 27th February, 1800. That unfortunate man, as is well known, died amongst felons, in New South Wales. Dr. van der Kemp says, in a letter to the Fiscal, dated from Botha's place, (Mr. Chase's farm near Port Elizabeth,) 18th March, 1802,—"P.S. Klaas Stuurman told me some particulars of his action with Tjaard van der Walt. From his accounts, compared with Field Cornet Niekerk's, it appears that he compelled Tjaard to surrender, and to restore the eleven muskets which Tjaard had taken, in a former action, from the Hottentots. Klaas is now master, from Bosjeman's River to the Zwartkops, and will, I think, soon fall upon Ferreira's place, against whom he has cause of great exasperation."

In reply to this the Government observes and orders, in a letter signed H. Ross, written on the

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12th April, 1802, to Dr. VAN DER KEMP, that the desertion of the Hottentots would greatly tend to prevent the humane intentions of the Government towards them from being carried out, for that whilst they continued assembled, committing depredations and murders, it would be impossible to obtain the acquiescence of the Dutch inhabitants to the proposed missionary settlement near Gamtoo's River, and that, without their concurrence, it would be difficult to accomplish this object. His Honor particularly recommends the Dr. to prevail upon STUURMAN and his gang, and the Captains of the other hordes, to quit their present situations, and submit themselves to such regulations as shall be established by Government, with respect to them. His Honor was perfectly aware of the truth of the Dr's. remarks, as to the cruel treatment experienced by the Hottentots from the Boers, but desired him to remember that they were charged with the atrocious unprovoked murder of VAN ROOYEN, that in the late depredations near Zwartkops River, committed by STUURMAN upon the farmers, a number of Hottentots had assisted. His Honor had, therefore, been obliged to order a commando to assemble, and to march next month to punish the plundering Hottentots and murderers, and to disperse all such as were not established with the Doctor, or under the posts at Fort Frederick or the Drostdy. His Honor adopted this measure with regret, but hoped that beneficial effects would arise from it, and that the peace and security of the country would at length be established. To prevent the direful effects of the armed commando, and their united vengeance, the Doctor is desired to inform STUURMAN and the others, of the determination of the Government respecting them, and to endeavour to convince them how much they would injure their

own cause, by enormities similar to those of which they had lately been guilty. The Landdrost FAURE and Major ABERCROMBIE, who attended the commando, had orders to protect the missionary establishment, and by no means to confound the innocent Hottentots with those who were guilty, and whom it was necessary to punish. Dr. VAN DER KEMP replies on the 28th of April, that the Hottentots who left them on the road, and joined KLAAS STUURMAN, did so from fear that they would be killed by their enemies if they went on. He, therefore, hoped that the greater part would rejoin when they learnt that their apprehensions were ill-founded. The Doctor adds, that although he could not be supposed to have any influence over the mind of STUURMAN, yet he had sent for STUURMAN, with the purpose of informing him of his honor's intention, and I will leave nothing untried to induce him to embrace the benevolent offer respecting him and the Hottentots in general. The Doctor adds, that no one can suppose firmness to be wanting in General DUNDAS, and that but little firmness was wanted to reduce the balance of justice from its present state of civilization (vacillation?) to equilibrium; and I hope that the rest will be easy. But as long as the atrocities of the Dutch farmers against the innocent Hottentots are left unpunished, there will always be assemblages of fugitives extremely inclined to revenge themselves, and we shall in vain expect peace and tranquillity, while commandos (commonly the most guilty employed to murder the innocent, as has lately been the fact) may subvert, but never can restore. I am, however, happy to learn, that a British officer is placed at the head of the commando, mentioned in your letter; this, I consider, as a step of the greatest mercy, to prevent the cruelties which otherwise the most innocent might experience from monsters under his command. J. T. VAN DER KEMP.

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There can, of course, be no more doubt of the benevolent intentions of the British governor than of those of the German missionary, even had not that missionary been Van der Kemp. But had it been possible to have left the Hottentots to have pursued their own course in the Uitenhage District in 1802, there can be little doubt that they would very soon have recovered their own lands from the merciless grasp of the European; these are probably the remains of the tribes of Goringhaiquas, Gorachoquas, and Chinoquas, whom we have seen expelled from their lands in the neighbourhood of the Cape promontory, assembled only a few degrees more North-east to reassert their rights. The missionaries in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, were only acting towards the aborigines the same part which we now see them acting towards the aborigines beyond the Orange River. They now carry along with them the sympathy of the British government and of a great portion of the European world, and who can doubt that they will prevail?—as probably they would have prevailed 43 years ago could they have restrained the passions of their disciples; or, had the British government not been forced to interpose with an armed force to preserve the supremacy of the law. It is unnecessary, however, further to pursue the subject, and here I may close my extracts from Bannister's most valuable Work, and, consequently, my Commentaries for the present.—*May 3rd*, 1845.

The next paper in my possession, and the only further authority I mean to refer to, is the "Journal of a Tour to the North-Eastern Boundary, the Orange River, and the Storm Mountains, by Col. Collins, in 1809." Mr. Moodie, in publishing (May 17, 1841,) as an Addenda to "The Record," Colonel Collins' most interesting Memoir, says:—"The injury at-

tempted against the reputation of Colonel Collins, and the mutilated condition in which the more important of his official writings have been printed in the Papers selected for the information of Parliament, render it just and necessary to place here the following notice, published by authority, in the Cape Town *Gazette*, 31st July, 1813, and to distinguish the suppressed passages of his reports, by placing them, as they are here placed, within brackets and in Italics." The Kaffers.

From the notice published in the Cape Town *Gazette* of 31st July, 1813, it appears that Richard Collins died at the age of 38, on the 18th of February, at Gouvea, in Portugal, when Lieut.-Colonel of the 83rd Regt., Colonel in the Portuguese service, and commanding a Brigade in the 7th Division of Lord Wellington's army. The writer of the brief notice of Colonel Collins' career, "who lived in his friendship and intimacy for many years, appeals to the whole British army for the ratification of his opinion—that the military archives do not, perhaps, record the name of a man who united so many rare qualities, or in whom was combined such a variety of endowments; a lofty courage, a fortitude almost invincible, a mildness of temper, a modesty of demeanour that conciliated all, but a firmness and perseverance that nothing could shake. His attainments were various: he spoke the German, French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, not only fluently, but eloquently; he was a good draftsman, and well read in the military history of all the great generals who flourished in the last century."

It appears that Colonel Collins "commanded his regiment at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope; and during a five years' residence there, no man ever enjoyed a larger share of esteem and admiration."

The Kaffers.

Colonel Collins set out on his tour from Graaff-Reinet on the 23rd of January, 1809, accompanied by the present Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Baronet, and Mr. Cowdery. The first few days of the journal are occupied by descriptions of the country and scenery. On the 9th February they slept below the Storm Mountains, at a place which bore marks of having been once the residence of Bosjemans.*

Colonel Collins says, that he believes Dr. van der Kemp to be the only person who has attempted to give a history of the Kaffers; that his account is annexed to a journal of occurrences during his residence in their country, and that it contains observations on their geography, population, manners, and customs; with a grammar and vocabulary of their language. The Work, which was communicated to the public through the medium of the London Missionary Society, contains, Colonel Collins says, much information upon these interesting topics, and that as far as his own inquiries and observations had extended, it is as correct as could have been expected in respect to most of those matters. He was, however, disposed to think that Dr. van der Kemp had been misled with respect to the population, for that he rates the number of miles in the country at nearly 40,000, which Colonel Collins conceived to be little less than the total† amount of all descriptions of inhabitants. The traditions which Colonel Collins had received differed also from those which Dr. van der Kemp had given, and he laid before government such accounts as appeared to him most generally

* From this period see Bosjeman Paper for Col. Collins' proceedings, until he enters on the Kaffer History.

† Colonel Collins would be surprised to find that in these days the population of the colony is estimated at little more than one to the square mile.

admitted, and most probable without intending in the least to answer for their accuracy. The Kaffers.

Colonel Collins believed that some inquiries had been made into the origin of the name of Kaffer, which had sometimes been applied to all the inhabitants of the South-Eastern Coast of Africa, but which had particularly distinguished those residing between the Great Fish River (Rio Infante) and the River Basee, comprising an extent of something less than 150 miles by 50 (7,500 square miles), Col. Collins was unable to recollect, (or, he says, perhaps to judge) whether this matter had been satisfactorily explained. But he believed that a mistake had been made in endeavouring to restore the original appellation, which he understood to be Koza, instead of Koussie, as it has been written. "The reluctance which Europeans appear to have felt in preserving the national names of the countries they have discovered, has operated in regard to what are called the Tambookie people, who are known to their neighbours by the names Tamboo and Tenjaia. As these denominations are now, however, so universally received, it would be absurd in me to dispute their propriety, and I shall adopt the European terms in the following short account:—

The genealogy of the chiefs has been given to me as follows:—

Togou,
Gouda,
Tzeeo.

Palo, Galika, Hahabee, Langa.

Mandanka, Mahota.

Posterity of Galeka:

Khovotu (Father of Hinza, Boohoo, &c.), Odessa, Walhela, &c.

Posterity of HAHABEE:

OMLAO (Father of GYKA), ZLAMBIE, QOMOQUA, ZALOOSA, TZATLA, SIKKOO, ZONIE, &c.

Posterity of LANGA:

MALOWSO, or KYNO, TOLIE, KAZA, GALEBA, &c.

Posterity of MAHOTA:

JALAMBA (Father of DADLO, OBELA, TOONA, KOBA, &c.), "KASSA, HABANA, GOLO or NOGOLO;

and most of the other petty independent chiefs, are either sons or grandsons of MAPOTA. Their people are called Mandankees, from the name of their founder. HINZA's subjects are for the same reason called Galikas, and those of GYKA and ZLAMBIE, Hahabees. It is not easy to account for the name of LANGA's people, who are called Barrookas; nor for that of the vassals of TINCHOO, who are called Tindees. The last chief is the son of BANGUEE, and grandson of GYKA, who was probably a son of TZEEO, but this I did not hear positively asserted, and I understand that it is a doubtful matter among the Kaffers. It is possible that he may be of Gonaqua origin, for a great portion of his people belong to that nation. His appearance is said to be more that of a Hottentot than of a Kaffer, and he has Hottentot wives.*

* It would appear from Colonel COLLINS' testimony in this matter, that the tribes belonging to the eldest son of the principal chief took the title of his father as their distinguishing appellation—as in the case of the Mandankees, and those of HINZA's subjects—GAIKA's and ZLAMBIE's also. May not the subjects of the second son have gone back to the grandfather, and those of the third son to the great grandfather for their distinguishing appellations, and may not SANGA's grandfather's name (PALO's father's) have been BARROOKA? I think I heard that TZEEO, as supposed by Colonel COLLINS, was of Gonaqua origin (and that LA

"The other chiefs affect to despise KONGA, from his not belonging to the chieftain stock. His father ZAKER, was a cattle-holder of PALO, who made him a chieftain. His people acquired the name of Genoo* Kaquas, from some cause which I could not discover. The Kaffers.

"From the period of their separation from the Tambookies until the death of TZEEO, the Kaffers appear to have resided altogether near the Kyba. I have seen a farmer now in his 95th year, who went with some others, in the year 1738, from Gauritz River, the most distant part of the colony then settled, on a shooting excursion into Kafferland. Those persons divided into two parties: one of them was under the direction of a man named HEUPENAAR; who, in consequence of his resisting the attempts of the natives to take the iron from his wagons, was murdered with all his people; the other party, to which the old man belonged, received no injury from them. There were not then any Kaffers residing West of the river Kysee, or according to the most common name amongst the colonists, the Keiskama, and some who accompanied the party on their return, took leave of them

VALLIANT'S fair friend, NARINA, belonged to that people). I know not whence the term Gonaqua, but believe that they are a mixed race, sprung from Kaffers and Hottentots. These are points which may easily be ascertained by those employed on the frontier, and they are surely of great interest. We have already seen how difficult it was to give a continuous account of the Hottentot tribes, because the Dutch, or they themselves, constantly changed the appellation of the tribe for the name of the chief. It is only necessary to cite the instances of the Cochoquas, who took the name of their chief GONOMOA; and of the Chinoquas, who were called after their chief SOUSA.

* Probably Genoo means cow in the Kaffer language. Gae means cow amongst the Marrattas of India—and Gaekwar is the distinguishing title of the sovereigns of Baroda. The Indore sovereigns—Holkar, are called Dangers—which means shepherd—their progenitor having been a shepherd.

The Kaffers.

at that stream, stating it to be the boundary of their country.*

"On the death of TZEEO his people were divided between the son of PALO and MANDANKEE. The former chief repeatedly received visitors from the colony, and has been sometimes mentioned under the name of PHARAO. His eldest son, GALEKA, inherited the greater part of his vassals, and continued to reside on the banks of the Kyba. He was often engaged in wars with his brother HAHABEE, who had proceeded with those vassals that had been bequeathed to him by TZEEO, to the country situated between the Zomo and the white T'Kye Rivers. GALEKA was always successful in these encounters, and he has left a high opinion of his conduct and intrepidity among his people.

"One of HAHABEE's sons having been killed on a hunting party by a Tambookie chief, the father attempted to revenge his loss, but he was defeated, and perished in the waters of the White T'Kye. His eldest son, OMLAO, having died before him, his second son, ZLAMBIE, assumed the government of his vassals, and the guardianship of GYKA, the infant child of OMLAO. Unable to cope with the Tambookies, he brought his people to the country lying between the Koquie (Buffalo River) and the Keiskama.

"MANDANKEE had removed to this neighbourhood shortly after the death of his father, and had been followed some years afterwards by his nephew SANGA, who had become possessed of such of PALO's people as had not been left to GALEKA and HAHABEE.

* It was always thus with the Dutch—they thought they had a perfect right to poach on their neighbour's land. We have seen the disputes into which they got with both the Hottentots and the Bosjemans in the neighbourhood of the Cape, on their first establishment there, from their poaching propensities.

Mahota had succeeded his father, Mandankee, before the arrival of Zlambie, and he and Songa, regardless of the misfortunes which had occasioned the emigration of their relation, immediately showed their dissatisfaction at this intrusion. They fought him frequently, but with so little success, that Mahota was repeatedly compelled to retire into Zuurveld; and he was at length killed in an engagement which took place in the year 1780. His son, Jalumba, finding his force unequal to a contest with the Hahabees, retired with his people into Agter Bruyn's Hoogte.

"This district had been settled about ten years. In the year 1778, Governor Van Plettenberg having called there on the journey which he made through the colony, he sent the justly-esteemed and much-lamented Colonel Gordon, to request an interview with some of the Kaffer chiefs. The Colonel proceeded in search of them as far as the Keiskama,* from whence he conducted a few to the governor, who entered into an engagement with them that the Great Fish River should be considered as the boundary between the two countries.

"The inhabitants reminded Jalumba of the ancient

* Mr. Moodie adds a note to show that he had ascertained at Graaff-Reinet, from a colonist, aged 80 years, that in 1775 the Kaffers had only reached the Keiskama; that the Bosjemans were then the only inhabitants about the Kaka and Koonap Mountains to the Kei. He did not believe that any of the Kaffers had then crossed the Fish River. Col. Gordon did not go to the Keiskama, but only to the place where Mr. Hart now lives, near Somerset, to bring the Kaffer chiefs; for the Kaffers had by that time advanced so far. Governor Plettenbeeg had a meeting with about eight Kaffer chiefs, but Mr. Moodie's informant did not know what passed between the parties. These particulars may appear unimportant at the present day, for there can be no doubt that the Kaffers are foreigners in those parts, that they generally kept near the sea shore, although it may be impossible to fix the precise period of their emigration from the North East, or the stages by which it was made.

treaty, and required his immediate departure. Their remonstrances having been disregarded, a commando was assembled, by which the intruders were expelled, with the loss of JALUMBA, and a great number of his followers.

"His son, DLODLOO, perished two years afterwards in a similar attempt, which was the last made to fix a kraal in that district.

"DLODLOO died without issue, his uncle, OHLA, succeeded to the command of the Mandankees. He retired with them beyond the Konaba River, where he remained some years.

Colonel COLLINS says, that soon after ZAKA was promoted to the rank of chief, he proceeded to the neighbourhood of the Baka River. He then enters on an account of the Hottentot RUITER, in connexion with ZAKA—a portion of his narrative already extracted, (page). When ZAKA entered the colony from the East, the settlers advanced from the Gamtoos River; they induced the people of KABEANG, a Hottentot chief on the Sunday River, and most of those who had belonged to RUITER, to enter their service, and extended themselves to the extremity of the Zuurveld, (the country lying between Graham's Town, the Fish River, and the Sea.) The kraals and the Colonists were mixed, and for some years without inconvenience; but in 1786 a difference arose between them; the Kaffers called Zlambie to their assistance, and he came with nearly 3,000 men. The Genookaquas were defeated with the loss of their chief, and ZLAMBIE was presented with the cattle of the vanquished Kaffers, who were imprudently permitted to remain in the colony.

"KONGA succeeded ZAKER in command of the Genoekaquas; they had been deprived of their cattle; were reduced to the necessity of plundering the

farmers, which produced a new war, and they were expelled. They did not, however, remain long beyond the Great Fish River; and on his return, Konga was accompanied by the three sons of Sanga—Macomo, Kama, and Toli—in order that he might be safe from the resentment of Zlambie, one of whose brothers had been killed by a Hottentot in their service. The Kaffers.

"The arrival of the Kaffers was reported to Mr. Woeke, the landdrost, who took no steps whatever to remove them. There is a report still current among the farmers, that a delivery of cattle was made to him by some of those people, as a purchase-right to a residence in the district of the Zuurveld. In stating this circumstance, upon which I have heard that the Kaffers lay some stress, I cannot allow myself, upon such grounds, to believe for a moment, that a public officer could be guilty of so great a dereliction of his duty. It is, however, certain, that by having neglected to notice this invasion, he laid the foundation of all the misfortunes that have since befallen the inhabitants of the Eastern Districts.

"The farmers, Colonel Collins says, were induced to enter into trade with the Kaffers, from finding their complaints disregarded, and to receive the Kaffers into their service; they gave their cattle and labour at first without knowing the value of such things; a little time, however, opened their eyes; altercations, which grew into enmities, arose; and in the year 1792, the Kaffers fell unexpectedly upon the colonists, of whom many were murdered and plundered by them.

"When the reports of these occurrences reached the seat of government, the Commissioner-General, Mr. Sluyskens, directed in 1793, a commando of farmers to assemble and march against the Kaffers.

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"Colonel Collins considers it very extraordinary, that before hostilities commenced some plan of operations should not have been arranged between the parties entrusted with the conduct of the campaign; and that Mr. Maynier, the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, should have commenced hostilities against the Kaffers with the farmers under his command, before the farmers from Swellendam had arrived. The expulsion of the Kaffers from the colony, instead of being considered the principal business of the armament, appears to have been regarded as secondary. The farmers had lost a great portion of their cattle, and to regain possession of the cattle seems to have been the first object of Mr. Maynier's attention. Having defeated them in the Zuurveld, to which they mostly retired, he followed them to the river Koguie, four days journey beyond the boundary, and there attacked the people of Khomota, mistaking them for those he was in search of. When he received intelligence of the arrival of Mr. Faure, the landdrost of Swellendam, with the party under his orders, he returned to the Great Fish River. The hostile Kaffers had no inclination to enter on so long a march as Mr. Maynier "had voluntarily imposed upon himself," allowed him to pass them, and had, for the most part, returned to their former stations, for he had not sufficient force to admit of his leaving any detachments to cover the Zuurveld; "or perhaps it never entered into his contemplation that they would be required."

When the whole force was brought together, the original intention of the government, with the exception of some cattle which had been taken, yet remained to be fulfilled. The men had been brought together from a distance, and from a country which had no direct connexion with the war, or cause of operations, their concerns were necessarily suffering

in their absence, and their wives and children were, The Kaffers.
during this waste of time, left at the mercy of the Bosjemans. "It may easily be conceived what must have been the feelings and opinions of these men. They had done every thing that could have been expected from them. They had driven the enemy beyond the limits. But not satisfied with that, they must be dragged to make war upon a people whom they had never heard of, and who had never done a christian harm. After all this they had the mortification to learn that they were not further advanced than on the day of their arrival.

"It is stated that SANGA, the principal chief of the hostile Kaffers, having fallen into the hands of ZLAMBIE, an offer on his part to deliver SANGA up to Mr. MAYNIER was declined. Government had offered a reward of 10 Rds. for each prisoner that might be taken; several were taken, but were released, and the farmers did not receive the expeeted reward. After some feeble and ineffectual attempts against the enemy, the clothing and other necessaries of the farmers destroyed, their horses and cattle worn out, and their hopes and confidence annihilated—they required, with clamour, that a captain of the Swellendam militia, named LAURENS DE JAGER, should be invested with the command, and represented that their demand was haughtily refused by Mr. MAYNIER, who continued to direct this unfortunate war.

"At length the two landdrosts esteemed themselves fortunate in obtaining a peace, on terms, as they themselves stated, disadvantageous to the colony. Nothing was mentioned in this treaty about the retreat of the Kaffers, who had no sooner restored the stolen cattle than they repented of their act, and recommenced their depredations.

"A report was made to government by Mr. MAY-

The Kaffers.

NIER in the following year, 1794, stating the cause of the late war, the best mode of protecting the colony against the incursions of the Kaffers, and of preserving peace with that people. He observes that "the excursions of the farmers into Kafferland for the purpose of hunting, the trade carried on between them and the Kaffers, and the improper treatment which the latter had experienced from the former when in their service, were the principal occasion of the rupture." He then recommends that "several inhabitants should be obliged to keep together in one place; that a stop should be put to all trade between the colonists and the Kaffers; that the former should be prohibited from going into Kafferland to shoot elephants, unless provided with a permission from the landdrost; and that the latter should be forbidden to enter the colony, except when bringing a message from the chiefs to the drostdy, under pain of being considered as traitors, and driven back with force."

Mr. MAYNIER complained bitterly of the inattention shown to his orders, particularly of the farmers having proceeded without his sanction against the Kaffers. Indeed, from this moment the authority of government began to decline in the Eastern districts, the inhabitants conceiving that as it had not the power to protect, it was unable to punish. Some evil disposed persons at the Cape, as well as in the country, took advantage of their circumstances to propagate revolutionary principles, and Graaff-Reinet became the theatre of anarchy and revolt.*

GAIKA, although not arrived at manhood, had

* Mr. MOODIE says, in a note, a correct knowledge of the relations with the Kaffers from 1786 to 1795, is only to be obtained from the official papers, which, under the plea afforded by an article of the capitulation of 1795, Commissioner SLUYSKEN removed to Holland, whence they do not appear to have been returned until the cession in 1803.—

shown himself in the late war, and he then began to wish for the possession of that power to which he conceived that his birth, and the nomination of KHOMOTA, the head of his family, had fully entitled him. ZLAMBIE having refused, on his demand, to resign the reins of government in the year 1796, a civil war ensued. ZLAMBIE having been defeated, proceeded to beg assistance from KHOMOTA, who declined interfering. He then returned to his ancient residence near the Zomo, where he endeavoured to win the Tambookies to his interest, but he was again attacked by GAIKA and taken prisoner. The Kaffers.

"During these disturbances, ZALOOZA, a brother of ZLAMBIE, emigrated to Zuurveld, where he waged war against the sons and successors of SANGA, and against the Mandankees, who had likewise proceeded to that quarter. These hostilities were not productive of any material consequences.

"In the year 1797, Mr. BRESLER, the new landdrost, who the preceding year had been refused admittance at his drostdy, having been favorably received, under the auspices of Mr. BARROW, proceeded with that gentleman to the Zuurveld and Kaffraria. The independent chiefs promised, on their reconciliation with GAIKA, to return to their own country, and at the request of those gentlemen, that chief sent them messengers of peace.

"Mr. BRESLER also sent to inform them of the success of his application on their behalf, and to require their immediate return to Kafferland. They all declined going, under various pretences; KONGA

Colonel COLLINS had obtained but an imperfect view of the system of deception intelligibly pointed at in the commencement of this paper, of which the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet and the first English government were the victims, and which the most cursory perusal of the concealed papers would have at once dispelled.

The Kaffers.

treated the landdrost's messengers in the most insolent manner, and advanced soon after to the Sunday River, where he endeavoured to form the same connexions with the Hottentots that had previously very much strengthened his party by the accession of a great portion of the Ghonaqua people.

"One of the Ghonaquas, residing with GYKA, and who claims his descent from a chief named KAMAKEERA, gave me the following account of that unfortunate race. As I heard no other attempt at their history, I am induced to repeat what was communicated to me respecting them, although the relation may appear somewhat improbable:—

"They had resided at first much nearer to the peninsula, and were yet united under their last great chief, JUAMA, when the Europeans advanced from the Cape into the interior. Unable to prevent their encroachments, and unwilling to acknowledge their superiority, they removed towards the East; observing that the country improved as they advanced, they continued their route to the territories of TZEEO. This chief was as much dissatisfied at their approach as they had been at that of the Christians, and unfortunately for them, he had as much the power as the inclination to show his displeasure.

"After a considerable loss both of their people and their cattle, they returned to the neighbourhood of the Great Fish River. Some settled in the fine plains on that stream. But the others apprehending that the wrath of TZEEO might pursue them even thus far, resolved to seek a less insecure, though a more distant retreat. With that view they proceeded to the North, where the Bosjemans treated them as unkindly as the Kaffers. Driven from the South, the East, and the North, the wanderers bent their last hope to the West. They followed the sun until stop-

ped by the ocean, on whose borders their posterity are known by the name of Namaquas. During the wars which took place among the descendants of Tzeeo, their brethren were plundered by all parties, and were at length obliged to seek protection from some of the chiefs. They avoided, however, as long as possible, intermarriage with the Kaffers, to whom they are, in general, by no means attached. The Kaffers.

"My historian assured me, that those under Gyka were his best soldiers, that they were always placed in the hottest of the fight, but were neglected and ill-treated when no enemy was to be opposed. He added, that they would all long since have left his country, if they had not feared to lose their cattle in the attempt; that they were, however, determined to avail themselves of the first favorable opportunity to carry their intentions into effect; and that, although sometimes not well used in the service of the farmers, with whom they had occasionally lived for short periods, they would rather reside with them than remain with the Kaffers. On being asked about the sentiments of the Ghonaquas under Konga, he replied that they were more connected with the Kaffers than any of the others residing with that people, and that he did not think that they had now any wish to remove from them.

"I assured the descendant of Kamakeera, that the Christians felt deeply for the misfortunes of the Ghonaquas, and would be happy to have the power of alleviating their unhappy lot; that, however, the relations which had so long existed between them and the Kaffers would render it improper to allow them to reside in the districts bordering upon the country of that people; and that if any of them should remove within the limits of the colony, it would be necessary

The Kaffers. for them to proceed to the neighbourhood of the capital.*

"After the death of KHOMOTA, who appears to have been always a pacific chief, his people were engaged in a war with GYKA, in consequence of one of them having been murdered by some person belonging to the latter; and an army was sent to the Keiskama under the orders of WILHELA, the uncle of HINZA, who was then a minor.

a. 1. "A person engaged in this service gave me the following account of the expedition, by which it would appear that Europeans ought not to give themselves quite so much credit for their improvements in tactics, as they conceive themselves so generally entitled to.

a. 2. "Having proceeded to a certain distance, where they left their wives and children, they continued

* It is not improbable that the unfortunate Ghonaquas, whose historian gives Colonel COLLINS so interesting an account of the tribe, may be the remains of the tribe of Gonomas, who, as we have already seen, took the name of their chief, GONOMOA, as their distinguishing appellation. The tribe, I think, was expelled from their lands at the Cape, during the administration of VAN RIEBEECK, and may have proceeded North-east, until they came in contact with the Kaffers; this conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance of their having joined different parties of Kaffers, and being their best soldiers, the foremost in their ranks; for the Gonoma Hottentots may be supposed to have, through their long period of misfortune, in contact with the Dutch, gained some knowledge of the use of fire-arms, if not (which they could hardly acquire under the Dutch of that period) of the art of European warfare. The Ghonaquas may have joined the Namaquas in small numbers, but not given a name to that people, as represented to Colonel COLLINS; for we know that the Namaquas were one of the aboriginal tribes. Colonel COLLINS' proposal to remove to the neighbourhood of the Cape must have surprised the Ghonaquas; for, supposing them to be the remnant of GONOMOA'S people, their lands were gone! The Kaffers must have, in those days, been hard-hearted masters, since some of the Ghonaquas preferred living with the farmers, although sometimes not well used by them, to remaining with the Kaffers.

their march, armed with shields and assagais, and provided only with a few slaughtering cattle. They were headed by an advance guard, composed of their best troops, and distinguished from the others by bearing on either side of the head a plume of the Numidian crane. Having arrived within sight of their enemy, they advanced in irregular columns of divisions; but in consequence of the endeavours to take them in flank, they formed, and after a few discharges came to close quarters. Several other movements were made by both parties, either to counteract those of the enemy, to take advantage of circumstances, or to afford support when required.

3. "The battle was for a long time obstinately contested, but at length the advantage appeared to lean so decidedly on the side of the Galekas, that Gyka left the field. The Hahabees conceived that the day was lost, when a panic seized the victors, and they fled in their turn.

a. 4. "On inquiring the opinion entertained among the Kaffers with regard to courage and military conduct, I was told that those qualities were held in the highest estimation; and that a man whose advice or intrepidity should gain any advantage for his country, would obtain applause and rewards from all ranks of people. Conceiving that when valour was so much prized, cowardice must be treated with the utmost severity, I asked how they punished that offence. My surprise was great when I learnt that among the Galekas no notice whatever is taken of misconduct of that nature; but I was informed, that Gyka has always been strict on that point, although he has more than once been the first to show the example of pusillanimity. Indeed, his punishments, for every description of crime, are stated to be the most cruel of any used among the Kaffers.

The Kaffers.

5. "Gyka did not fail to take advantage of his unexpected sueeess. He pursued the fugitives, among whom he made a dreadful slaughter; passed the Kyba, seized on the cattle of the inhabitants, and took Hinza prisoner.

a. 6. "What might have been his intention with regard to the young chief is not known; but it must be remembered that when he had Zlambie in his power, under similar eireumstanees, he generously restored his freedom and possessions. Hinza was stolen away in the night by some of his faithful veterans, the eompanions of the vietories of his grandfather. A peace was coneluded at the river Inguga, and some of the cattle taken from the ehiefs were restored.

7. "Arrived at the plenitude of power, Gyka beeame haughty and intractable. It was shortly after these events that Dr. van der Kemp made an attempt to establish a missionary station in his territory. The bad sueeess of the endeavours used by that zealous and indefatigable man, affords but a faint hope of a more fortunate undertaking of a similar nature: sometimes appearing his friend and convert, at others evincing the greatest suspieion of his proceedings, Gyka obliged him eontinually to ehange his abode, and he was finally obliged to abandon the project.

a. 8. "Mr. Barrow has given so full an aeeount of the arrest of the rebellious boers, in the year 1799; of the insurreetion of the Hottentots; of the interview of General van de Leur with Konga, at the Sunday River; his promise to retreat Eastward; the attack subsequently made by him on the brigadier's detachment, whilst on his mareh from Agter Bruintjes Hoogte to Algoa Bay; and afterwards on his camp near Bosjemans' River, as to render it unnecessary for me to dwell upon these points. Not knowing how to distinguish the disaffeeted boers from those attached

to government, General VAN DE LEUR was apprehen- The Kaffers.
sive of trusting any of them with ammunition, or availing himself of their services against the enemy. The loss of Lieut. CHUMNEY, and most of his party, cut off when detached to the coast, followed by the retreat of the general to the bay, in consequence, as I believe, Mr. BARROW states, of his deeming it imprudent to wage an unequal contest with savages, the successful result of which would be favourable to those only who had instigated them to act,—were occurrences which were certainly not calculated to inspire any of the contending parties with a high opinion of British power.*

"General DUNDAS conceiving his presence necessary to restore order, set out for Algoa Bay, but having no local knowledge, and being naturally desirous of acquiring the best information, he wished to be attended by some person well acquainted with the country. Mr. MAYNIER was recommended to him,

* I do not know by whom Colonel COLLINS' Papers were laid before Parliament in a mutilated form; or, so far as I have yet proceeded in transcribing them, very distinctly trace the object in thus dealing with those admirable papers. Mr. MOODIE is, at all events, on this, as on many other accounts, entitled to our best thanks for publishing them entire, and enabling us to judge for ourselves. Of the last cited passages numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,—the passages marked *a* are placed by Mr. MOODIE within brackets, and printed in Italics—and they are amongst the passages omitted in the papers laid before Parliament! It will not fail to occur to any one that the five passages omitted in the papers laid before Parliament state facts and circumstances honorable to the character and civilization of the late GAIKA, and the Kaffers generally—whilst one of these, the 8th, and last, relates to the rebellious conduct of the Dutch Boers, in 1799. The other three passages are of an opposite character,—calculated to throw discredit on the character of the Kaffers, and to place in a favorable light missionary labours. The conclusion is inevitable, that "the injury attempted against the reputation" of the Kaffers, is greater than that attempted against Colonel COLLINS. Can the Parliament of our country be thus treated with impunity? ! ! !

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and the General appears to have been entirely guided by his advice. His principal object seems to have been to conciliate the Hottentots, who had been leagued with the Kaffers, and had committed the most dreadful outrages. After some time, a peace, as it was called, having been concluded, he appointed Mr. MAYNIER commissioner in the district, and returned to the seat of government.

"No sooner were the troops withdrawn, than the Kaffers and Hottentots pursued their career of blood, fire, and plunder. The people of KONGA, OLELA, HABANA, &c., were the principal of the former, and the STUURMANS, although not originally from this part of the colony, together with one BOOSAC, and some other adventurers, led on the latter.

"Mr. MAYNIER gave no credit to the reports made to him of these transactions, and affirmed that they had no foundation except in the fears of the farmers, whom he threatened to punish with the utmost severity if they dared to leave their habitations. The districts of Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, Zwart Ruggens, and Winterhoek, of Bosjemans, Sunday, and Zwartkop's Rivers, were entirely abandoned. Mr. MAYNIER remained at the Drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, with a detachment sent for the protection of his district, and he was feebly attacked there by the boers, who attributed all these disorders to his mal-administration.

"Intelligence of these transactions having at length reached the Cape, Mr. MAYNIER was recalled, and Gen. DUNDAS was on the point of recommencing hostilities when he received intelligence of the preliminary treaty, by which the colony was restored to Holland. Unwilling, however, to leave the colony in the dreadful state to which it had been reduced, he directed that a commando of farmers should be formed under the Commandant TJARD VAN DER WALT, who seems

to have possessed the talents and energy suited to the important trust. The Kaffers.

"Mr. Maynier, whose conduct then occupied the attention of a commission of inquiry, expresses himself in some paragraphs, which his patriotism induces him to annex to his defence.

"'As I am too much interested in the welfare of the colony, and am persuaded that by the following plan, which seems generally approved, or rather that plan of which any person, whether he is acquainted with the nature of the country or not, is so much in love with, the country will be exposed to total ruin, I therefore beg leave to offer some reflections on this subject.

"'The plan of driving the Kaffers and Hottentots beyond the Great Fish River, so much favoured by some, I have always disapproved, and maintain, that whoever knows the state of that part of the country where they live, and the immense woods and dens which offer a safe retreat to them, will look upon such plan to be unwise, because greatly difficult to be accomplished, and still more so to confine them there; and cruel on account of the hardships which they must consequently suffer. And I feel the most perfect conviction that peace may be preserved with these creatures by fair means, and with little trouble.'

"Van der Walt attacked the enemy with vigour. He had inspired confidence into his own people, and terror into their opponents. The Kaffer chiefs held a council of war, and were on the point of retiring, when the commandant was called away to the neighbourhood of the Gamtoos River, where a number of insurgents, principally Hottentots, had overrun the country. There a musket ball struck him when penetrating through the woods, and deprived the colony of his useful services.

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"The Field-Commandant Botha had been appointed second in command; but although a good and zealous man, he was not looked up to with the same degree of respect as Van der Walt. The other commandants mostly conceived themselves better qualified and more entitled to command; and under various pretences they conducted their parties soon afterwards to their several districts.

"The Kaffers and Hottentots became more daring by the failure of this expedition. One party, under Boosac, proceeded to Oliphants' River, where Botha's own people, and some from Winterhoek, under the Field-Commandant Gabriel Stoltz, happened fortunately to be in readiness to receive them; they were driven back with loss.

"Another division, consisting of several hundred, under David Stuurman, after making an unsuccessful attempt on a place in the Lange Kloof, which was defended only by a few persons, crossed the mountains to Plettenberg's Bay. The field-cornet, one John Terblantz, treated the intelligence of their approach with contempt, but shamefully abandoned his post the moment of their arrival.

"The first farm house they came to was occupied by a few brave men who beat them off. They then continued their route, and unfortunately met with some farmers travelling to the Cape, whom they murdered. The wives and children, however, contrary to their practice on some other occasions, they sent away uninjured, after a demand, as their ransom, of the arms and ammunition of the people who had so well defended themselves, had been refused. A detachment of them, with Stuurman, then advanced, plundering and burning the detached habitations as far as Outiniqualand, where the openness of the country deterred them from proceeding. They were

met on their return by Botha and Stoltz, on whose appearance they cast away their arms, and retired with precipitation through the woods. The Kaffers.

"Zlambie for the first time took part against the colonists in this war. He had long been on bad terms with Gyka, and having united his people, he retired through Agter Bruintjes Hoogte to Zuurveld, where he arrived on the eve of these disturbances, in which he became involved.

"Notwithstanding the disappointment and displeasure of General Dundas on hearing of the desertion of the commando, he could not, as then circumstanced, adopt any other measure of hostility: as the only means, therefore, of restoring even temporary tranquillity in the colony, he directed a commission of field-commandants and field-cornets to conclude a peace with the Kaffers and Hottentots. This was done upon no other condition than that each party should retain possession of the cattle that had fallen into his hands; and this treaty was afterwards confirmed by a similar deputation sent to the Sunday River by the Batavian government.

The Kaffers and Hottentots now began to quarrel about their booty, and to rob each other. Boosac was put to death on one of these plundering expeditions by some of Zlambie's people, notwithstanding the recital of the many services he had rendered them, and his protestations of his entire devotion to the Kaffer nation. More than twelve of his followers are reported to have avoided sharing in his fate by being mounted, or holding on a single horse.

"Olela, chief of the Mandankees, was deprived, soon after these events, of his authority, with the concurrence of most of the other chiefs, in consequence of his restless and marauding disposition. He retired first to the colony, and afterwards to the

Orange River; at this period ZALOOSE left Zuurveld and joined GYKA, to whose fortunes he has since remained firmly attached.

"ZLAMBIE having taken a fancy about the same time to the lands near the Bosjeman's River, occupied by some of the kraals of KONGA, and the latter having refused to resign them to his demand, his people were driven from them by force.

"As soon as General JANSSENS had made the necessary arrangements at the seat of government, he proceeded on a journey to the interior. To remove the inconvenience occasioned by the unsettled state of the Kaffers and Hottentots, appears to have been one of the chief motives of this tour.

"On his arrival at Algoa Bay he sent for KLAAS STUURMAN, and delivered him a brass gorget, on which was engraved the following inscription, which deserves to be preserved :—

'Capitein KLAAS STUURMAN,
Vreed' en Vriendschap
Met de Bataaviesche Republiek,
Den 1ste Maart, 1803.'"

Colonel COLLINS goes on to say, that General JANSSENS proceeded to the Sunday River, and sent to all the Kaffer chiefs to request a visit with them within the colonial limits. They were brought to him by the Field-cornet SCHOLTZ. His excellency signified to them his expectation, that they would immediately leave the colony, adding that, if they would not go peaceably, he would be under the necessity of using compulsion; they made the old excuse, "the fear of GYKA;" he said he would remove that difficulty, and they promised, in that event, to retire without delay.

The governor wished GYKA to meet him on the Great Fish River, but he declined coming farther than

the Kat River, from whence an officer's party was sent forward to meet him. He would not at first hear of a reconciliation with his emigrant chiefs, but at length agreed to receive them amicably. The Kaffers.

Kongo, Habana, and some other chiefs kept their engagements and removed to the Keiskama; but finding that Zlambie remained undisturbed within the boundary, they returned in a few months.

The war between Great Britain and Holland was soon afterwards declared, and General Janssens could not spare from the Cape the troops which he deemed necessary for the expulsion of the Kaffers; but he often declared his intention of having recourse to hostilities, as soon as circumstances would permit them.

In the expectation that the country would have been evacuated, a proclamation had been issued, directing all persons to return to their places in the Zuurveld, under pain of forfeiture. Some did return in 1804, but were forced to fly subsequently, through the murders and excesses committed by the Kaffers; and two ineffectual attempts were afterwards made by the same persons to establish themselves in these lands.

The Kaffers, who seldom used to pass the outward places, in small parties, for the purpose of begging, now began to advance farther, boldly, and in greater numbers, for that purpose, and the farmers, forgetting the misfortunes they had suffered from that people, imprudently received many of them into their service.

1. Colonel Collins tells the story of a concubine of Gyka's, who had gone to visit her relatives in the Zuurveld, having been detained by one of Zlambie's sons. In revenge for this Gyka detained one of his uncle's ladies, who had gone to visit her friends at the Keiskama. Gyka's subjects regarded this step with

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the strongest disapprobation—declaring that they considered it in the light of incest—there was reason to suppose that his enemies took advantage of this circumstance to inflame the minds of his people, whose affections they had already much alienated by representing his extreme arrogance and his avarice in claiming universal inheritance, which plea reduces whole families to the greatest distress. Rebellion was openly declared, and GOKESA, an old soldier, who had always been distinguished by his master for his conduct and valour, headed the malcontents. They were, however, composed of the most distant and most warlike kraals; and their leaders having been killed in the first engagement, they would have been obliged to submit, had not two of GYKA's uncles, TYALTA and SIKKOO, who were the principal instigators of the insurrection, joined the party with their people.

2. The rebels did not, however, consider themselves sufficiently powerful, and sent to demand the assistance of ZLAMBIE, in punishing the crime of his nephew. The old chief was sick and unable to proceed, but sent his sons, GWEECHEE and KOSSEE, with a large force to the Keiskama. GYKA was driven into the mountains after showing some generalship, though, as usual, little courage. His kraals were destroyed and his herds were captured. A great many of his people thinking GYKA's fortunes entirely ruined, joined the rebels and auxiliaries, and they proceeded altogether towards the Zuurveld. Their march was observed, and a few cattle were recovered. A famine, however, ensued, and most of the young children, even of GYKA, ZALOOSA, and other principal chiefs, were actually starved.

3. GYKA had been joined by FOONA, who had succeeded his brother OLELA, as chief of the Man-

dankees, and KYSOO, chief of the Byrookes, also joined him after the conclusion of the campaign. ZLAMBIE was apprehensive that the other chiefs would also join GYKA; for they already began to think that he had been severely punished, and to reflect that they were equally interested with him in the question of inheritance. This consideration may have prevented the victorious chief from endeavoring to reap all the fruits of his success. No further hostilities of any consequence took place, and a favorable opportunity having offered in about a year afterwards, GYKA sent proposals of peace to his uncle, which were immediately accepted. The Kaffers.

4. In the mean time, however, ZONIE, a brother of ZLAMBIE, wishing to avoid these contentions, secretly withdrew with about 60 of ZLAMBIE's men to the river Ghamga, where he attacked and plundered two kraals, composed of deserters from various chiefs, who had been several years in that neighbourhood, under the command of two brothers, HENDRIK and JACOB, common Kaffers, belonging to ZLAMBIE. HENDRIK was forced to accompany ZONIE to the Orange River, where he was killed with about thirty of his people, by the Bosjemans.

5. Some of the emigrants (Kaffers) who had returned to Zuurveld and the Keiskama, gave a most favorable account of the countries they had visited. HABANA and his brother GALATEO, absconded in the year 1808, and several other petty chiefs, both of ZLAMBIE's and GYKA's parties, for the most part Mandankees, only waited a favorable opportunity to follow them.*

* Here again the passages marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or from the words "Colonel COLLINS tells the story" to "OELELA had come from the Orange River," are omitted in the papers laid before Parliament, whilst from these last quoted words to the end of Colonel COLLINS' paper,

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"Oelela had come from the Orange River some months before, and had collected a great number of Kaffers from the service of the inhabitants. With these he endeavoured to compel his brothers, Gola and Ootzee, who commanded a kraal that had been several years established in the Zwartberg mountains, to proceed with him to the Orange River.

"The hostilities attracted the attention of government. Instead of attending to the injunctions given to him to move from the colony, Oelela not only persisted in remaining, but became extremely troublesome to the inhabitants and travellers. He was in consequence seized, but escaped to his kraal from the custody of a Field-cornet. On the approach, however, of a force, he retired beyond the Northern boundary, and he is supposed to have proceeded to join Zonie.

"An ineffectual attempt having been made to establish some of the kraals near the Cape, all those remaining in the inhabited part of the colony, together with the Kaffers and Ghonaquas in the service of the farmers, were removed beyond the Sunday River, and all communication with those nations was cut off, except such as might be occasionally required between the chiefs and the officers of government.

"Not content with the protection granted to his family, David Stuurman took measures to increase his strength, and to confirm his independence. He received many Hottentots, with whom he had no

dated July, 1809, the passages are laid before Parliament entire. By whomsoever these papers were thus mutilated, it will hardly fail to occur to any one that the object was to throw discredit on the character of the Kaffers, and to exhibit that people as unfit for self government, whilst there is, apparently, the object of exalting the Hottentots, and of showing them in the true light of an injured people, striving at the beginning of this century to regain a portion of what had formerly been all their own, from the neighbourhood of George to the promontory of the Cape.—*May 14th.*

relationship, and openly resisted the officers of the district in the execution of the orders of the landdrost, with respect to individuals who had broken their contracts; notwithstanding the prohibition against harbouring Kaffers and Ghonaquas, he permitted a whole kraal to remain on his land. It was discovered, also, that he had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with KONGA, of which the colony was the object; and he was on the eve of proceeding to join that chief, who had repeatedly urged him to take this step, when the traitor was arrested, and sent with his brother BOSHMAN, and two other leaders of the kraal, and of the former insurgents, to the Cape. The remainder of these Hottentots proceeded either to the neighbouring missionary institution of Bethelsdorp, or to take service with the farmers, according to the option given them, and the lands which they had occupied were appropriated to other purposes. The Kaffers.

"Stellenbosch, July, 1809."

Colonel COLLINS did not of course know, and could not know, the particulars of the engagement entered into by PLETTENBERG in 1778, and renewed in 1793; for we neither know the particulars of that engagement at this day, nor the particular members of the Kaffer confederation with whom it was negotiated. We know, however, that it was only negotiated with individual members, and that it could not therefore be held to be binding on the whole body. Yet, that was the only ground on which either the Dutch or the English could require or expect the Kaffer chiefs and people to withdraw to the left bank of the Great Fish River, from lands which had been occupied by them for generations. Commentary.

We know too, as far as it is possible to know any thing of a people who have no written language, and

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consequently no history, except traditional; and who have been too little regarded by their neighbours, since the days of Dos Santos and the Portuguese of the Mozambique Channel, to take much note of their proceedings,—that the Kaffers came from the far North—and there is every appearance and probability that they had extended their emigration and conquest as far South* as the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, if not of Mossel Bay, before the Dutch appeared as their rivals in the field of conquest and usurpation in South Africa. The Kaffers, with their name, had brought from the North some of the institutions belonging to the Moors, and had they not met the current of European emigration coming from the South, they might have overrun or conquered the whole of South Africa. In that case the Hottentots and Bosjemans would have found, in all probability, more merciful rulers than they found in the Dutch—less merciful, or men less suited to deal with aborigines, or with the circumstances into which they were thrown than the Dutch have proved themselves to be, they could hardly have found on the face of the globe.

Colonel Collins brings to our knowledge a curious and interesting circumstance in the treaty, offensive and defensive, which the new patriot Hottentot chief, David Stuurman, negotiated with his neighbouring Kaffer chief Konga. The former, doubtless, deserves the epithet of traitor, which Colonel Collins applies to him. But it may be a question whether Colonel Collins would have applied that term to David Stuurman, or to those connected with him, had "The Record" been then published, or could he have understood the full measure of sufferings which both Hot-

* It was my intention to have published, for the information of the general reader, a Map of South Africa, with this Memoir—but an engraving could not be prepared even at Cape Town.

tentots and Bosjemans had sustained for a long series of years at the hands of the colonists.

The person noticed as STUURMAN's brother, and named BOSHMAN by Colonel COLLINS, was doubtless a chief of that people, who had united with him and KONGA in this struggle for national independence—Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjemans, united by a treaty offensive and defensive against the Dutch! A great struggle it certainly would have become, and there can be little doubt that it would have been a successful struggle about the beginning of the present century, had it not been checked by the power of England. Kaffers and Hottentots were well calculated to co-operate in such a struggle, and they would probably have left the Bosjemans in possession of their own—the whole of the present Colesberg, Graaff-Reinet, and Somerset Districts, with a great portion or the whole of the hilly part of Albany District. A glance at the map will satisfy any one who has not travelled through the country, that, from its mountainous and hilly nature, the whole tract is just the description of country which Bosjemans loved to occupy.

It may be questioned whether the Kaffers ever extended their conquests a hundred miles from the sea-shore, until the tyranny of the European had so weakened the power of the little Bosjemans, as to lay their country open to all the world. Colonel COLLINS, it will be seen, gives many examples of the Kaffers moving with their kraals into Bosjeman country, as far West as Namaqualand, and as far North as the Orange River, when the aboriginal tribes had been so weakened. The Hottentots, I heard from very good authority, Captain STRETCH, I think, were a circumcised people like the Kaffers, when the Europeans first visited their country. This would show a more

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extensive connexion between the Hottentots and the Mahommedans on the West of Africa, than I had before thought of; and would of course pave the way for a union between Kaffers and Hottentots. May not the Hottentots have emigrated through the centre of Africa, leaving the Ethiopian race along the Western Coast entirely on their right?

The relative condition in which the Dutch found the Hottentots and Bosjemans may too, be received as evidence that the former had not been long settled in the parts of the country which the Dutch first invaded. The Bosjemans were living mostly in the most mountainous and wooded portions of the country, even Table Mountain was occupied by them,—they had hardly been left any tracts on which they could pasture cattle and sheep. But, although living in a condition of comparative dependence on the Hottentots and Namaquas, the Bosjemans only performed the part of their light troops, taking their outposts—and the duties of intelligencers, messengers, and spies; and there is little probability, that under the Hottentots, Namaquas, or Kaffers, the Bosjemans would ever have fallen into a lower condition of servitude. In the more inaccessible portions of the country, more to the North-east, the Dutch found the Bosjemans in quite a different condition, having their own chiefs, and living under a rude form of government, which, however, was entirely their own. How different their condition now? and how different is it likely to remain, unless England will re-establish their chieftainships?

We have just at Cape Town heard of the overthrow of the emigrant Dutch boers, who, on the Orange River, and all the way from that to Natal, have had the insolence to proclaim a sort of independent administration, and to throw off their allegiance to the British

government. It is not improbable that the descendants of the Hottentots, Kaffers, and Bosjemans, whom the tyranny of the Dutch had expelled from their fatherland, had joined the Griquas in their endeavours to oppose the farther progress of Dutch usurpation. I heard either from MAKOMO, through his interpreter, or from some other person on the frontier, a curious story of the origin of the term Griqua. We now know that Gri and Grigriqua were terms for aboriginal tribes when VAN DER STELL made his first journey into Namaqualand, and we know that the Griquas and the Namaquas, after his return to the Cape, threatened to invade the colony, and to take revenge for the outrages which he had committed in their country. The story I heard was, that when the Dutch, or the Bastards, first crossed the Orange River, and sought an asylum among the Griquas, the oldest chief then called himself, or was called by others, Griqua; thus assuming the appellation of his tribe instead of his own name; the emigrant Dutch, or Bastards, engaged, if permitted to remain there, to take the designation of Griquas. The Kaffers.

The Chevalier DUPRAT, the Portuguese member of the Mixed Commission at the Cape, told me that he had been obliged to warn either his countrymen of De la Goa Bay, or his government in Europe, or both, against the encroachments of the Dutch boers, fearing that they would get possession of De la Goa Bay itself. So that, had not England taken up arms against her own subjects, and stayed their atrocious proceedings towards herself, and the aborigines of South Africa, the probability is, that she would soon have been required to do so by a European power!—*May 15th.*

The Kafiers.

From Colonel Collins,

To H. E. the Right Hon. the Earl of Caledon, *Dated Cape of Good Hope, 6th August,* 1809.

Colonel Collins says, that having had the honor to transmit to H. E. the notes made upon his journey to the Eastern borders, and put him in possession of the information he had obtained respecting that quarter, it was unnecessary that he should offer any opinion upon the steps necessary to be taken for tranquillizing, and for the prosperity of those districts.

But that, in conformity with the instructions he had received, he was anxious, by the fullest discharge of his duty, to merit the confidence which had been hitherto reposed in him by His Excellency, and he should leave no point untouched which he considered might be necessary towards effecting objects of so much consequence.

It had been a subject of much regret to him, that the measures which he had to adopt in his employment as His Majesty's Commissioner, was such as to tend to protract the civilization of a considerable portion of his fellow creatures. The painful consideration was considerably increased by the necessity imposed upon him of recommending a perseverance in a similar line of policy. He should have exulted, if he could in any degree have contributed to the laudable endeavours of those humane persons, whose labours had been so worthily employed in rescuing a portion of the original inhabitants of Africa from the miseries of barbarism. But when that pleasure could only be indulged by sacrificing the interests, and compromising the safety of one of the best appendages of His Majesty's crown, it became a duty to resist such agreeable illusions. He considered it a maxim of the first importance to the colony, that all intercourse

between the settlers and the Kaffers should be scrupulously prevented, until the former shall have increased considerably in numbers, and are much more advanced in arts and industry. The interests of philanthropy may then, he hoped, be safely and usefully exerted for the advantage of that people; but they would now, he feared, be productive of great inconvenience and danger. The Kaffers.

In consequence of these opinions, formed by much observation and reflection, it appeared to him, that the steps necessary to be taken for the permanent tranquillity of the Eastern districts, are to oblige the Kaffers to withdraw to their own country; to oppose insurmountable obstacles to their return to the colony; and to remove every inducement to their continuance near the boundary.

The outline of the history of the Kaffers, with which he concludes his observations upon that people, would, he thought, explain the want of success which had been made for their expulsion, and would, he hoped, show that this had not been occasioned by the means of resistance which they possessed.

The wars at first waged against the Kaffers were carried on exclusively by the settlers, who appeared, when successful, to have failed from considering the recovery of stolen cattle as the principal object of hostility.

A military force was, for the first time, here opposed to them in 1799, but being unsupported by the farmers and the Hottentots, and even impeded by their enmity, its exertions were necessarily unavailing.

The talents of the individual chosen for the conduct of the war in 1802, surmounted the difficulties arising from the want of military aid and direction, but his death reduced things to their natural order, and served to confirm what experience should long

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before have taught, that there were considerable imperfections in the mode of conducting hostilities against the Kaffers.

He had, in some of his despatches, stated his opinions about the force necessary for the removal of the Kaffers, and the manner in which it should be employed.

It must have been observed, that he placed much reliance on the exertions of the farmers, and he could not help thinking that on this service they would be considerably more useful than regular troops; they were well acquainted with the country, excellent marksmen, accustomed to fatigue, and privations; provided with horses fit for all the purposes of irregular cavalry, and not subject to the disadvantages of requiring stabling and dry forage; there were, perhaps, other reasons, not less weighty, for preferring farmers to regular troops.

The Kaffers are always prepared for war, and it might be inconvenient or impossible at all times to spare the troops necessary to guard the frontier, or even to detach troops, on any particular occasion, when they might be wanted. The inhabitants would lose all confidence when deprived of the assistance of troops, and the Kaffers, when no longer opposed by force, would increase in confidence and enterprise.

If this reasoning be just, Colonel Collins thought that the farmers should be made the principal instrument of hostility against the Kaffers, but by no means that they should be the only instrument.*

* It is not difficult to see that, had the colony been fortunate enough long to retain Colonel Collins' services, his understanding and foresight would soon have devised a scheme to settle all the frontier difficulties. He would have seen that engagements of a reciprocal character might with safety have been negotiated with the Kaffers—that they were capable of becoming, through treaties, offensive and defensive, good and faithful

The misfortunes arising from the want of a chief of rank and talents, to secure respect and obedience, point out the necessity of a military commander—and should operations shortly become necessary, the presence of Major CUYLER, who possesses the necessary activity and local knowledge, would obviate this inconvenience. The Kaffers.

The principal cause of the little success obtained by the troops on a former occasion, Colonel COLLINS had already noticed, but that cause happily existed no longer. The opinions of the inhabitants in the eastern district had changed in the last ten years, and the most cordial co-operation may now be expected from them in every undertaking.*

The beneficial consequences likely to be produced by the enemy perceiving that a good understanding prevails between the governors and the governed, may best be judged of from the circumstance of a party of 30 Dragoons, under the orders of Capt. ORD, having been enabled, during a period of six months, to prevent the incursions, I do not say the thefts, of a whole nation, which had for years been accustomed to overrun the country committed to his charge.

The number of troops, Colonel COLLINS conceived, should merely be what might be deemed necessary to control the farmers, and perhaps occasionally to animate them by their presence. Dragoons and Light Infantry appear the most eligible.

Before hostilities were commenced measures should be taken so as to fill up the country from which the

allies—and that corps might be formed of the native tribes, disciplined by British officers, sufficient at all times not only to control the native tribes themselves, but to reduce the farmers, and keep them to a sense of their duty and allegiance.

* He would have seen too, the demoralizing consequences which could not fail to result, on both sides of the border, from employing undisciplined bodies of men on offensive operations.

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Kaffers are driven, as soon as it is evacuated. By the effect of a proclamation of General JANSSENS, all those places in the Zuurveld are forfeited, which had been deserted and have not been re-occupied.

His Excellency had, however, directed that credit should be given for the loan-rents of places up to December, 1808, an indulgence which enabled the former proprietors to resume possession. Major CUYLER had communicated the order to Colonel COLLINS, and he had taken upon himself to limit its operation, in a manner which he hoped would be found only to have anticipated His Excellency's wishes.

Colonel COLLINS thought that the facility with which the Kaffers entered the colony, might be attributed to the scanty population of the eastern frontier. The system of giving farms of such extent, although, perhaps, necessary in some parts of the settlement, is exceedingly impolitic in this particular district. It is no wonder that little respect should be paid, where a line of nearly 100 miles does not present a resistance of more than one-third of that number of inhabitants. It is only a wonder that the settlers should have been able so long to remain in the vicinity of a numerous people, continually endeavouring to encroach upon their possession. He conceived that in re-occupying the country near the mouth of the Great Fish River, it should be given out in small portions, equal to the general extent of places held in fee simple, which Colonel COLLINS believed to be 120 acres.*

* The omission of the whole of this paragraph of Col. COLLINS' letter, and of other paragraphs of like nature, leads to the impression that those who laid these papers before Parliament had in view the object of promoting emigration from England to South Africa, as well as that of detracting from the character of the Kaffers, and promoting the establishment of Missionary Institutions. See the papers themselves, as published by Mr. MOODIE in "The Record."

He did not, however, advise that those places should be granted in perpetuity, because it was desirable that any person who rendered himself obnoxious should be immediately removed from that neighbourhood. He thought that rents should be so inconsiderable that they might be regarded more as an acknowledgment of tenure than as a source of revenue. If such encouragement were not held out it would be impossible to procure inhabitants for this part of the country, under the dread of exposure to the attacks of savages, and the conviction of being able to gain a subsistence only by industrious habits. The Kaffers.

The country from the mouth of the Great Fish River to the place where it receives the Little Fish River, would be fully protected by this formidable barrier; but the attention of the Kaffers* would then be entirely drawn to the district of Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, where the farmers occupy loan-places of the usual extent, and where they are consequently placed at a distance of three miles from each other.

Two remedies occurred to Colonel Collins:—1st, by dispossessing the present occupiers, and granting them lands in the same manner as he proposed for those situated to the South of them.† 2nd, By extending the boundary. He supposed that government would be averse to depriving men of their possessions, but saw strong objections to the district being dealt

* The poor Kaffers must go somewhere with their long-horned cattle, but they would not have remained long in this tract of country, for they would have found it as little suited to pastoral purposes as the colonists now find it.

† There is nothing new under the sun!—And I find myself anticipated in my scheme of withdrawing from ten out of the thirteen districts of the colony by Colonel Collins in his more limited scheme of withdrawal. It is hardly any wonder that Colonel Collins should hint at an extension of frontier, for that scheme continued favored until a very late period, without reference to the injury which it must inflict on others.

The Kaffers.

out in small portions; for, except the country bordering on the sea, the district was seldom visited by rains, and although the land afforded fine pasturage, it could be subjected to tillage only through the aid of irrigation. The inhabitants of inconsiderable lots would find their account only in supplying the graziers and the inhabitants of villages with corn, wine, and vegetables; and, perhaps, if encouragement were held out, with such wholesome liquors as beer, cyder, and perry. But except the land situated on the Little Fish River, there is none in Agter Bruintjes Hoogte adapted to these purposes.

On inspecting the chart it would appear that an extension of boundary to the East should be carried at least as far as Kat River. Colonel Collins was at first of this opinion when he thought of the subject—but local inquiry showed him that the land between the Kat and the Konaba Rivers, although of the finest quality, was, from the scarcity of water, fit only for pasturage, and that it was in many parts covered with underwood. The country situated between Agter Bruintjes Hoogte and the Konaba, abounds in excellent fountains, the soil is good, and the timber growing on the mountains bounding it on the North, is superior to any within the colony.

The acquisition of this tract would strengthen the frontier, not only by the great number of inhabitants that would be brought together in consequence of the land being granted in small portions, but also by affording the advantage of a shorter line of defence, and the consequent greater facility of communication and support.*

* There is nothing new under the sun!—Until I had read this passage I gave Sir Andries Stockenstrom credit for originating, as well as for forwarding the settlement of Hottentots, Bosjemans, and emancipated Slaves, on the Kat River, but he was with Colonel Collins during his

The loss of this part of their territory would occasion no inconvenience, Col. COLLINS thought, to the Kaffers, for they had not a single hut there; and had always been averse to inhabiting it, on account of its being an open country—which, however, would enhance its value as a colonial frontier possession.—Colonel COLLINS did not think that much objection would be made by the Kaffers to its occupancy, but that they would, at all events, be easily induced to transfer their right to it for an adequate payment in cattle.* The Kaffers.

Colonel COLLINS considered that the greatest difficulty in occupying this tract would arise from the want of people to fill it up with; he supposed it to be about 1,200 square miles, and that 6,000 settlers would be required to people it; they were not to be found within the colony, and it was desirable that a portion of Europeans should be allotted for that purpose,—a thousand would be procured without much expense from Europe, and Colonel COLLINS thought that the same number ought to be provided from the colony; former renters of the Zuurveld might receive as compensation for loss, each one of these lots for himself, and another lot for such person as he might recommend; but to maintain the population, Colonel COLLINS thought it should be a rule, that no person should be permitted to hold more than one† place.

tour. The Reverend Mr. READ, the missionary, told me on the spot an interesting anecdote. The Kaffers, although just expelled from that tract of country, did not grudge these people their possessions, or disturb them, in the irruption of 1834-5,—since the whole of that tract originally belonged to the Bosjemans.

* We find in various parts of "The Record" an account of the purchase of land from Aboriginal Tribes, for trinkets—but this is the first proposal I have seen to purchase land from the Kaffers, paying them in cattle; at last we occupied this very tract without any payment at all.

† It is curious to find in Colonel COLLINS' scheme of 1809 the nucleus of the emigration of 1820, and the foundation of Graham's Town, the

The Kaffers.

Colonel Collins thought that it was obvious, from the cold manner in which Gyka had received the proposal to trade, and from other circumstances, that much advantage could not be expected to result from it. He feared that it might be productive of inconvenience; for although the Kaffers generally had cattle enough for themselves, they could spare few for commercial purposes, and if in their eagerness to procure trifles, they should part with what were necessary to themselves, they must necessarily supply their wants either at the expense of the colonists, or of each other; in the former case, defeating the contemplated object of conciliation; in the other, doing injury to the cause of humanity.

The sure way of preserving peace between the colonists and the Kaffers, was to convince the latter of the superiority of our power, and of our being able, as well as determined, to punish aggressions on their part. This Colonel Collins did not consider so difficult a matter as was generally supposed; most of the depredations had been committed by the people of the petty chiefs, and under proper management, ample justice might be done for such acts, even to the extent of hostility, without engaging the superior chiefs in the quarrel; annual presents might also be made to the chiefs, according to their respective strength, their punctuality in sending back deserters from the colony, and their efforts in preventing the depredations of their vassals. It may be necessary to interfere in the concerns of the Kaffer people, at some remote

capital of the Albany District and of the Eastern Provinces. As to people being drawn from other portions of the colony, that was not likely to happen—for those formerly there have mostly left, and gone to Natal and the Orange River. The Dutch farmers were as little likely to settle down into an agricultural population, or to mix with the English, as the Kaffers themselves.

period, even for their benefit. It must be a matter of indifference whether GYKA or ZLAMBIE have the better right to reign, for neither will keep faith longer than it may appear to be his interest. The Kaffers.

In concluding a treaty with the Kaffer people, it would be very desirable to stipulate that their kraals should be withdrawn to their ancient territory, which is beyond the Keiskama, and to require that although the country situated between this stream and the boundary shall be considered and respected as their territory, yet that they should not enter it except for the purpose of hunting. Their continuance within, or near the boundary, Colonel COLLINS thought, was occasioned by the facility which they were thus afforded to trade, beg, or plunder. The new inhabitants can have but few cattle, and the last inducement for the Kaffers remaining near would be removed. Some articles which Colonel COLLINS communicated with his letters of the 23d of April, were intended to remove the other inconveniences.*

Some severe measures should be taken with respect to persons leaving the colony, and Colonel COLLINS thought it was necessary to issue a proclamation, pardoning all subjects who might be residing among the Kaffers and Ghonaquas, provided they returned by a certain time, declaring it treasonable in future to proceed among that people without permission; and that any communication with them, or with any refugee residing with them, when in a state of hostility against the colony, will be considered and treated as a capital offence.

KONGO's people are the most connected with the Hottentots, and it would therefore be advisable that

* It is curious too, to find in all this the nucleus of the engagement with the Kaffers, for what has been called the Neutral or Ceded Territory, between the Great Fish River and the Keiskama.

The Kaffers.

this chief were placed at the greatest distance. He belongs, properly, to HINZA, who says that he wishes to have him in his neighbourhood, and that he would allow him as much land in his territory as he could require.

After some observations as to the police of the colony, and territorial division for the purpose of facilitating police and administrative arrangements, Colonel COLLINS says, that he has offered the foregoing views for the adoption of a permanent line of policy with regard to the Kaffer people. They are, in his mind, the only means that can restore and secure safety to the Eastern districts.

In a letter dated the 29th of November, Colonel COLLINS recommended that the Kaffers should be obliged to retire beyond the Bosjeman River, and that a military post should be established in that neighbourhood, to check the incursions of that people, and to communicate with their chiefs. These measures, or some others, should, he thought, be adopted as soon as possible.

After some observations relating to the missionary station of Bethelsdorp, and to missionary proceedings in general, Colonel COLLINS says that Dr. VAN DER KEMP informed him, that from the experience afforded by his former visit to Kafferland, he thought it better that the natives should have no reason to suppose that he had any connexion with the colonial government, that it would be very inconsistent with his principles to use compulsion, and yet more to deprive a fellow-being of his freedom. Mr. READ having mentioned that these inconveniences had not been experienced from the establishment of a similar institution near the Orange River, Colonel COLLINS begged to remind him that the natives of that country were a very different people from the Tambookies and Kaffers.

I have purposely omitted all Colonel COLLINS' obser- The Kaffers.
vations regarding the treatment of Hottentots in the colony, and the mode of enlisting them for the Cape Regiment, and turn to his observations relating to the Bosjemans, (page 23), for which see Bosjeman Paper.

Colonel COLLINS' Notes made on a journey to the Southern Branches of the River T'Kye,* and through Kaffraria,

Omitted in the Parliamentary Papers.

Having at Schaapkraal made the necessary preparations for so long a journey, the party which had "been agreeably augmented by the presence of the landdrost, Mr. STOCKENSTROM" passed the boundary on the 3rd of March.

The first few stages Colonel COLLINS halted at places which had received their names from Dr. VAN DER KEMP, who had visited them seven or eight years before, from GYKA's country. On the morning of the 10th, they were surprised by the appearance of six Kaffers, who said, they were proceeding from GYKA, whom they had left the day before, to OPATO, a Tambookie chief, who generally resides East of the Zomo; they were going to exchange copper chains for cattle,—the barter, Colonel COLLINS says, is conducted in a very gallant manner; after delivering the compliments of their chief, the party throw the chains round the necks of the favorite ladies, ask nothing in return, but when they choose to terminate their visit, they are presented with the supposed value of their gifts.

On the 12th, when within a few miles of the T'Kye, called Kyba by the Kaffers, messengers were sent to HINZA, their principal chief, to inform him of the

* The present Kye River—T' being apparently a prefix used for the cluck of Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjemans, as in T'Kye, T'Slambie, &c.

The Kaffers, ostensible object of the journey, the seareh after refugees, who were said to reside with him, and to request his permission to proceed. The messengers returned on the 14th with an invitation from Hinza to proeeed, and with four guides to conduct the party to his residenee. On the 15th, they arrived at the residence of Bookoo, a brother of Hinza, and his principal chief. This place consisted of three or four huts, standing near a wood and rivulet, whieh generally determine the site of kraals. He was seated on a mat, his side towards us, and having a few men also seated before him; after waiting a few minutes, during whieh he remained motionless, we approached him, and inquired whether Bookoo eould be spoken with? He then rose, and entered into eonversation with us, by asking the nature of our journey. He appeared to be about twenty-four years of age; his countenanee was rendered interesting by a good humoured smile, and a very fine set of teeth; his figure was tall and elegant, but as well as his face, was rendered more like that of a Hottentot than of a Kaffer, by being all over smeared with oehre. He wore no useful article of dress, except a kaross, made of a leopard skin, which was suspended on his neek, and eovered one shoulder; one wrist was surrounded by eopper wire, some beads hung from one ear, and others adorned an ancle.

We presented him with some trifles, whieh oeeupied his attention more than an hour. The ehief stretehed himself on the grass, near the party, which had retired to rest at a little distance, and after making some observations on the presents, said that a hut had been prepared for them, and that he had ordered a bullock to be killed for their use. He was asked many questions—among others, the comparative rank of Hinza and Gyka; he said, that Hinza

was the first of the Koman Kogas (Kaffer people), and added, with uplifted hands, "he is so great, that when Gyka, Zlambie, or any other chief, wants fat, they send to him for it." He said, that he, Bookoo, and Gyka, sometimes visited, but that the latter and Hinza had not yet paid their respects to each other. Colonel Collins thought, that some jealousy about rank might exist between them, for it appeared that where there is superiority, there is also etiquette to be attended to.

Hinza often comes to Bookoo, either to see or consult him, but the latter never goes to the former, except when sent for. Although very ready to answer our questions upon other points, Bookoo declined giving any information upon political matters, which he said were entirely under the direction of Hinza and his council; at night the party retired to a hut made in the form of a bee-hive, about fourteen feet in diameter, and seven in length at the centre. They lighted a fire in the middle of it, and were soon joined by many Kaffers of both sexes, who remained to a late hour devouring the beef, which the arrival of the party had fortunately procured for them, and which they "did not give us the trouble of eating."

On the following morning they took leave of Bookoo, and ascended a hill, where they found one of his half-brothers, named Osompa, seated on the ground, in front of his hut, with his family standing behind him; proceeding nearly S. E. the country was more rugged than that West of the Kyba, but better inhabited and cultivated. They passed several kraals, at all of which they saw Kaffer and Indian corn, and at some, plantations of tobacco and pumpkins.

After a ride of six hours Colonel Collins arrived at Hinza's residence, which, like that of Bookoo, consisted of only the huts necessary for the accom-

modation of his family, and a spare one for strangers. That of the chief was larger and neater than any they had seen. Hinza was not at home, but his mother received them with a hearty shake of the hand, a mode of salutation which she acknowledged to have received from previous visitors. She was one of the widows of Khomata, the father of Hinza, and sister of Odaba, late chief of the Tambookie nation. They saw two more good-natured looking sister widows, but their attention was most engaged by the young queen, the daughter of Kamboose, also a Tambookie chief. Her handsome appearance was rendered more interesting by the attention with which she nursed an infant child. If she appears equally amiable in the eyes of her husband, it is perhaps only through custom that a couple of tumbies, the name here given to concubines, are attached to his household.

Having taken some milk, which, according to their custom, was tasted by the person who brought it, a few of the party set out to the residence of the tribes. They did not reach the sea-shore until near dark, where they found a collection of huts, some built in the colonial, others in the Kaffer style. Colonel Collins notices a deserter from the British army, whom they found there. He had lived some time with farmers near Zwartkops River, and having gone from thence to Kafferland—had resided several months in Gyka's territory. He had been nearly a year with a young Dutch farmer, and a few Hottentots and slaves, at the place where Colonel Collins found him. Hinza, he said, had treated him with great kindness, and lent him some milch cows, which, with the addition of fish, and a sea cow occasionally shot in the neighbouring rivers, insured them a subsistence. Another deserter, this man said, was residing near the Bassee,

at the kraal of WELHELA, the uncle of HINZA, from whence it was not thought that he would be induced to remove, as he wore the kaross, and lived in every respect like a Kaffer.* Colonel COLLINS says that they supped on the usual fare of these people, of which their Kaffer guide declined to partake, saying that his countrymen never ate any kind of fish, and that they drank the milk only of their own kraal. The Kaffers.

Colonel COLLINS returned to HINZA's place, and was told that he had come home that morning; about fifty men were seated before his hut. "HINZA was not among them, but he soon came out, and approached, and spoke to these men in a very affable manner; they addressed him without rising, by a salutation, consisting of the words 'aan HINZA,' the Kaffer manner of saluting a chief, the only person with whom they use that ceremony. He then came up to me and shook me rather awkwardly by the hand." HINZA was thanked by Colonel COLLINS for having sent guides. He said, on the subject of permitting the exiles to return to the colony, and of sending to Graaff-Reinet any who might persist in remaining, and all others who might come in a similar manner into his territory, that he must consult his advisers before he could give an answer. A present was sent to him in the name, and as a token of the friendship of the great chief of the Christians, and he let Colonel COLLINS know that an ox should be slaughtered for the party.

* We have now got on such friendly terms with the Kaffer chiefs, that there is no longer any danger of their harbouring deserters from the army—and Colonel RICHARDSON, with the 7th Dragoon Guards, has read the Dutch Boers such a lesson on the subject of establishing independent administrations, that they are not likely again to attempt that course; and, consequently, not to have the means of committing, as British subjects, the crime of harbouring deserters.

The Kaffers.

Hinza has not the slightest natural resemblance to Bookoo, and they are rendered still more unlike by the former's not using ochre, thereby preserving his dark colour. His person is tall and stout, his eyes are large, but directed to every thing except to the person to whom he is speaking, and his whole manner indicated an absent and fidgetty disposition; his dress did not differ from that of his vassals; he is younger than Bookoo, but it was settled at his mother's marriage, that her children should succeed to the government in preference to those of the other wives, a circumstance that in no way disturbs the harmony of the brothers.

All the ladies came and sat by Colonel Collins and the party, except the young queen, and kept them in conversation until joined by Hinza. "He lay half extended on the grass, reclining on one of his veterans and favorites, and holding by a string a dog, which seemed to possess an equal share of his regard. The chief desired our interpreter to say that the exiles had come into his country, as had been practised by other persons from the colony, to whom his territory was always open. They had pleaded great distress, and he had done everything in his power to relieve them; he was not aware that they had left their own country without the permission of their chief, whose wishes on this point he should be happy to attend to in future; he further promised to send a messenger to them early the next morning, to inform them that he would not object to their return, and to recommend their immediate departure.*

Colonel Collins having heard from one of the

* There is the appearance in all this as if any person was at perfect liberty to enter the Kaffer country, but not to depart without authority—and this too, appears in part of "The Record." We know that none of their people can separate from their chiefs and tribes without authority; and

party which first proceeded, he believed about 1780, in search of the people of the *Grosvenor*, Indiaman, that the dead bodies of several had been found at a place between the Kyba and the Bassee Rivers, and that circumstances had given strong reasons to suppose that those unfortunate people had been murdered by the natives, he earnestly requested HINZA to afford protection and assistance to all shipwrecked persons, assuring him that such kindness would be liberally rewarded. He immediately assured Colonel COLLINS that every assistance should be given to such persons if stranded near his residence; but that GYKA must be spoken to for what might happen near him. The Kaffers.

The ladies continued present during this conversation, and seemed to take great interest in it. (Whether some of them were not the descendants of the unfortunate passengers, or people of the *Grosvenor?*) Colonel COLLINS describes how the royal party feasted on the bullock which had just been killed for him. It was but a luncheon. At their regular meals, which are twice a day, and consist mostly of a mixture of milk and corn, the whole kraal is assembled; men and women eat separately; when there is a chief he has a distinct basket, in which none but those he invites can dip their spoons.

Every opportunity was taken during their short stay to obtain as much information as possible respecting these people and their neighbours. The greatest attention and readiness was shown on their part to gratify the curiosity of their visitors. They sometimes gave rise to mirth, but not the least dissatisfaction was ever expressed, or suspicion evinced at the numerous inquiries. They asked questions in return, and

as the reverse of this obtains in British territory, may not some misapprehension have thus arisen, in the endeavour to confine our own people to, and to exclude theirs from, our territory ?

The Kaffers.

the ladies seemed to think it most extraordinary that in our country women should generally pay for their husbands, instead of the men paying for their wives, as is the Kaffer practice.

Not many years since HINZA's people resided on the right bank of the Kyba, where traces of his kraals still exist; an unsuccessful war with GYKA forced him to abandon that country, which he now uses only for the purposes of hunting. Being asked whether he would object to GYKA or ZLAMBIE coming there, he answered without the slightest hesitation, that he would risk every thing to drive him back immediately, certain that sooner or later a war must be the consequence of such vicinity. On making the same inquiry with regard to KONGA, he replied, that it would afford him great pleasure to have that chief near him, as he was properly one of his own people, and they were on the most friendly terms; but added, that he thought the others would not allow him to pass them unmolested. HINZA, and those about him, seemed particularly to dislike GYKA.* The country now occupied by HINZA's people, is situated near the sea, between the Kyba and the Bassee, rivers of equal magnitude, and distant about forty miles from each other.

Colonel COLLINS says, that the Kaffers are themselves unacquainted with the number of their population; and that it is impossible for a stranger to know it. But that they guessed that this tribe consisted of

* This will not surprise any one, since they had just had an unsuccessful war with GYKA. Could, it at that time, have been expected to get GYKA and ZLAMBIE to remove to the banks of the Kye River? We, at all events, learn from HINZA what evil would be done by forcing one tribe of Kaffers back upon another; and what mighty mischief would have followed, had we, in 1834-5, forced the whole Kaffer people, with their cattle, beyond the Kyba or Kye River.

about 10,000 souls. They were all under the absolute control of HINZA, but divided among a number of subordinate chiefs: of these the principal is BOOKOO, already mentioned; two uncles of HINZA, named WELHELA and ODESSA, and his cousins OOTELONIE, OSAMPA, ONOHESLE, OOVOOKONIE, OOBONIE, OFADAVA, OONAMBA, and OMALACHE. The Kaffers.

Colonel COLLINS thought it was not less difficult to estimate their cattle than their population, but thought it probable that their cattle exceeded 20,000. He also thought that cattle plundered from the colony might, to escape detection, be sent to the more distant kraals and exchanged for others, and begged that HINZA would prevent his people from receiving any other than Kaffer cattle in exchange for theirs, and this HINZA promised to attend to. It was feared, however, that as the Kaffers would thus be deprived of some advantageous bargains, whilst HINZA himself had nothing to fear, or expect on the other hand, that this trade, so injurious to the colony, would be continued. Some connoisseurs prefer the Kaffer breed of cattle to the colonial; and it is remarkable that the Namaqua cattle also excel the colonial. The Kaffers, however, prefer the colonial cattle to their own. The attachment of the farmers to the long-horned race will protract any improvement in the breed.

Colonel COLLINS was under the necessity, on account of the condition of his cattle, of foregoing his wish to visit the nearest Tambookie kraal, although it would only have required two days to reach it. It would appear that the chief of the kraal, OPATO, had not been long in that part of the country. He acknowledged to Mr. STOCKENSTROM, that it did not belong to him, that he had never passed the Zomo; that he had come there only because he found the place uninhabited; that he was on such bad terms

The Kaffers.

with his king as to render it dangerous to his people to go to his residence. Near the Bassee, on the opposite bank, is the residence of Oovoosanee, chief of the Tambookies, or rather, according to their own appellation, of the Tembo, or Tonjain nation.

Being a minor, the government is under the direction of his uncle Ochacha. A few days' journey farther is the chief Kamboosee, whose daughter is married to Hinza, and whose people are sometimes called Mambookees; and at a considerable distance from him, beyond a great river called the Omsinfooboo, is a tribe called the Manduanas, under the chief Ofooboo; until far beyond the Bassee, the Tambookies do not live near the sea. Their subjection to one chief is probably more nominal than real, for they are said frequently to make war on each other, and have been frequently reconciled through the mediation of Hinza, and of his father, with whom they have always been at peace, and whose people and theirs frequently mix on hunting parties, and have otherwise constant intercourse. The Manduanas* are represented as the most warlike tribe.

The Tambookies are said to be, in every respect, the same people as the Kaffers, except that they approach rather more to the appearance of the Negro, which is probably occasioned by their being farther removed from the Ghonaquas and other Hottentots. Some change is also said to be found in the language,†

* It is not, perhaps, improbable that these Manduanas of Colonel Collins, are the Mantatees, who, a few years since, were driven into the Kaffer country by the Zoolas, and who followed our returning force into the colony. They are now known under the appellation of Fingoes, which, Mr. Fynn, who is a Kaffer scholar, told me only means wanderers, or people without a country.

† In tribes so migratory as those of Africa, it would not of course be surprising to find a change in the language as we proceed Northward.

from KAMBOOZA's people inclusive, to the Northward. The united kraals of the Tambookie people do not probably exceed a few thousand people. The Kaffers.

After presenting the ladies, and members of the council, with some trifles, on the 18th we took leave of HINZA;* he was kind enough again to provide us with guides, whom he directed to conduct us to the mouth of the Kyba, on the way to the wagons.

We arrived in the evening at a kraal, where we found an assemblage of more than 200 head of cattle, but not a human being; after waiting some time, a boy of about eight years of age crept out of the bushes, and came up to one of the guides, whose voice he had recognized; his master resided at the distance of two or three miles, and this little creature had every night the charge of the herds, which, indeed, are so well trained to the country, as to be capable of taking care of themselves; the incident is sufficient to show the security of person and property under HINZA's government; it does not, however, proceed from severity in punishing crimes, for no person has even been condemned by him to suffer capital punishment.

On the 19th, a small kraal of Bosjemans, com-

Whether the Hottentots, as supposed by Colonel COLLINS, bear a stronger resemblance to the Negro than the Kaffers, is a curious question; if, indeed, that be Colonel COLLINS' meaning. They have probably all come from the far North, and may belong to the Ethiopian, and not to the Caucasian family. The Bosjeman being the only aborigine.

* Colonel COLLINS was probably the first British officer of that rank whom HINZA had seen, and he appears to have remained with that unfortunate man only two days. Every one knows that Major-General Sir HENRY SMITH was in command of the party when HINZA fell; and although his death is a cause of general lamentation, he is probably lamented by no man more than by General SMITH. I do not know whether it has occurred to any one that there is great similarity of character between these distinguished officers. But I think this will strike any one who studies their writings.

manded by one WINDGART, came to receive their share of the flesh of the Hippopotami, which had been killed in the Kyba. This man lived formerly nearer to the colony, and committed great depredations on the farmers; but LYNX, and some more of his associates, having deserted him, he retired to a greater distance, and now lives, according to his statement, under the protection of HINZA, at about midway between the confluence of the Zomo and Kyba Rivers and the sea.

On the 21st messengers were dispatched to GYKA to request permission to proceed to his residence. We stopped for the night at a pass, a little South of which GYKA lived before he was deserted by ZLAMBIE, who, prior to that event, occupied the country we had this day traversed, and in which several abandoned kraals were seen.

The messengers that had been sent to GYKA met Colonel COLLINS here, and reported that the farmers who had been appointed to accompany the party to Zuurveld, had been two days waiting near the chief's residence—and on the evening of the 24th they joined the farmers at a place appointed by GYKA for their encampment, about a mile from his kraal, near the Keiskama. GYKA was informed of their arrival, and let them know that he would wait on them as soon as he was joined by his uncle JALOOSA, whom he had sent for. About mid-day his approach was announced. He was in the centre of an irregular line of about a hundred men, who advanced at a slow pace, and halted at thirty yards from their encampment. Having gone to meet him he came forward with his brother-in-law. The remainder of his retinue seated themselves at a respectful distance. Some compliments were exchanged, in which he bore his part without embarrassment or affectation. The presents were

then produced and delivered to him by Colonel Collins, as a mark of the friendship and approbation of the great chief of the Christians. His figure is well proportioned, his countenance manly and intelligent; although without any article whatever of dress, except a tiger skin and a necklace, he had hitherto appeared with dignity; but, on perceiving the trifles, the chief was forgotten. He called a few favorites to share in his delight, which was manifested in a loud laugh at every new object that presented itself. Having concluded the inspection, he inquired whether Colonel Collins had not brought him clothes—he was told that it was understood that he had received a suit when Major Cuyler last visited him—and on his observing that the holes on his eaross pleaded for another, Colonel Collins promised to send him one. The Kaffers.

On retiring to a tent it was soon filled by his chiefs and confidential people. He said he had long been expecting the Colonel,—had heard that he had been with Hinza, and hoped he had brought good news both from him and from the colony. He was told that the object of the journey to Hinza was to claim some persons belonging to the colony. In reply to questions on the subject he said he was not aware that any refugees were in his kraals, but that the field-cornets might make inquiries on that head. He was sorry that it had been found necessary to interrupt the intercourse of his people with the colonists, and hoped that he himself might be regarded as an exception, and that in consequence of the number of cattle necessary to pay for a Tambookie wife, whom he expected, the daughter of Ochacho. He said in reply to a question, twenty were required. He was told that there would be no objection to his going with a few men to the neighbouring landdrosts, or even to the Cape; but that he could not be permitted

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to beg from the inhabitants; that they would, however, receive him with hospitality on his way, and that as a further mark of the interest the governor took in his happiness, if his visit were made directly to the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, he should receive the number of cattle he had stated.

Gyka was informed that when the differences among the Kaffer people were terminated, and all as formerly resided peaceably beyond the Great Fish River, the colonial government would direct that they should be annually supplied with such things as they might want in return for cattle and ivory, and the advantage was pointed out to him of afterwards sending those things to more distant countries. He merely observed that if the trade were not opened until the removal of the Kaffers to their own country, he was apprehensive that he should not live to enjoy its benefits, unless the colony would undertake the task of removing them. His whole stock of cattle was said to be reduced to ten cows and a few oxen, which Colonel Collins thought might account for his receiving the trade communication with seeming indifference.

He appeared surprised at an inquiry as to the cause of his removing his residence from the place where he resided when he obtained the sovereignty—and answered that the whole country, from Kyba to the colony, as well as the country of the Bosjemans, belonged to him. He, however, acknowledged Hinza to be his superior chief. Colonel Collins asked whether Konga belonged to him or to Hinza, and Gyka replied, that he belonged to whichsoever he might reside with—adding, that Konga had permission to pass through his country, and that there never had been the slightest difference between them. A couple of sheep were sent to Gyka, and one to

each of his chiefs; dinner was also sent to him, and his numerous requisitions for wine and brandy were complied with. He wished to kill the bullock as usual, but as he had so few this was declined. He was told that his visit would be returned in the morning; he made no objection, but came to the camp soon after sun-rise, with only a few attendants. He said his wife would follow, and requested that she might also have a present. She came with four attendants, one of them the wife of ZLAMBIE's son SOUSLO, she having lately come over with only one attendant. Some presents were given for herself and some for GYKA's mother, who had gone on a visit to her relations among the Tambookies, or who had left GYKA secretly in consequence of his repeated refusal to permit her to return to her own country. A chief seldom marries the daughter of a vassal, but generally purchases wives* from the Tambookies, for each of which he pays from thirty to fifty cows—a common man seldom pays more than eight or ten, and always marries a fellow subject. The Kaffers.

The camp was soon crowded with Kaffers. GYKA requested another interview, and said, as JALOOSA was now present, that he would open himself more fully. He inquired whether Colonel COLLINS' visit had no other motive than that which he had mentioned. He said, he was in daily expectation of a renewal of hostilities with his enemies, and inquired whether he might hope for co-operation from the colony in forcing them over the boundary? He was

* Colonel SOMERSET says, I think in his paper relating to the Kaffers, that only the sons of daughters of royal houses, (married to sovereigns,) can succeed to sovereignty. I have already, under the 2nd and 3rd Heads, quoted from Colonel SOMERSET'S interesting Memoir, which he was kind enough to give me at Graham's Town, in June last. It has, I believe, been printed in the Parliamentary Papers.

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told it was understood by government that those people preferred the country to the East of the Great Fish River, and that they were probably prevented returning to their own through apprehension of receiving ill-treatment from him. That these fears were occasioned by the tyranny which was stated to have caused the desertion of ZLAMBIE, and by his subsequent conduct to HAABANA, and others, who had trusted to the promises he had made to General JANSSENS of receiving them with kindness. He acknowledged to have taken some of HAABANA's cattle, after his return to the Keiskama; but said, that it had been done in consequence of his having learnt that the chief had sent a great number of them, in small parties, to the Zuurveld, and that he meant himself shortly to follow. He added, that he was unfortunate in being disliked by most of the Kaffers, and enumerated many causes, for which, he said, he was blameless; among others, he stated that, when a child, the great KHOMOTA had visited his uncle ZLAMBIE, and had inquired for the son of the late Chief OMLAO; that having been pointed out, a great chain was placed round his neck, investing him with the sovereignty of his father's territories; that having arrived at manhood he had been obliged to assert his rights by force of arms; that he had subdued and captured ZLAMBIE; had unbound his fetters and restored a great proportion of his vassals; but that advantage had been taken of this generosity to excite an insurrection among his people, on pretence of his taking possession of the cattle of deceased rich subjects, as had ever been, and still continues the practice of all the Kaffer chiefs, even of ZLAMBIE himself; he concluded by saying, that the fear of him was only a pretext, and that the Kaffers would never leave the colony unless forced to do so.

Colonel Collins inquired whether there was any truth in the report that Gyka intended to retire more to the Eastward? He replied, that his enemies wished to drive him there, but that he had been born in, and appointed to govern the country where he now resided, and that he would rather lose his life than the possession of it. He was recommended to use every means to gain the affection and confidence of his people, and to receive with particular kindness all those who might return to him from the colony, as the most beneficial results might be shortly expected by him from such a mode of proceeding. The Kaffers.

When Gyka was present he exclusively carried on the conversation. Gyka having left for a short time, Jaloosa asked, whether, after a couple of years had elapsed, and the Kaffers were quiet, they might not again visit the farmers? Colonel Collins replied, that he should see what could be done; but could assure him, at all events, that it was the particular wish of the colonial government to treat all the Kaffers as kindly as possible.

On Gyka's return, Colonel Collins observed that he concluded Gyka was aware that authority had been given to shoot such Kaffers as might be detected in the act of stealing, and could not be made prisoners. He said, that he was not, and having mentioned the subject to his chiefs, observed, it would be better that the culprits should be taken. Colonel Collins assured him that this should be done, if possible, but that otherwise they would be shot. Nothing more was said on the subject.

Gyka was well qualified to give information about his nation; but he seemed to receive every question with suspicion, and his people evinced a degree of caution in replying to them, very different from what I had experienced from those of Hinza. It was found

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impossible to give any just estimate of population.

Gyka's people now inhabit a few square miles, comprising the sources of the Keiskama, one of which is the Alca, a rivulet, where he himself resides. With exception of this small portion of land, and two or three struggling huts near the Kat River, the whole tract of country from the Kyba to the Great Fish River, containing an area of about a hundred miles by fifty, is said to be wholly uninhabited. The number of Gyka's vassals was much reduced by the desertion of Zlambie, but suffered a greater diminution by another insurrection of his people, immediately followed by the late war with his uncle, who then acquired a very considerable accession of strength. In addition to what may be denominated his personal vassals, Gyka was joined about five years ago by Jaloosa, and since by two more powerful chiefs, Fuona, with his brothers or nephews, Botma, Anguela, Diepa, Kom, and Koobasanie, who came to Gyka just before the termination of his late war, and Kyno, formerly known by the name of Maloo, who had joined him with his brothers, Galeba and Kaza, since its termination.

Colonel Collins gives a list of the followers of each chief, enumerating the cousins and relations of Gyka, and adds that their numbers may complete Gyka's whole force to about 1,500 men. Gyka and Jaloosa were left at the close of the war completely destitute, and several of their children are stated to have perished of want. The latter has since obtained some cattle from the Zuurveld chiefs, according to the custom of the Kaffers on the termination of hostilities; but Gyka disdained to relieve his distresses by begging from such bitter enemies, although he is often found to solicit relief from his own subjects.

In the evening Colonel Collins' interpreter came

to say from GYKA that he wished to strengthen his friendship with the Christians. That the favors which we had almost exclusively bestowed on him had made every Kaffer his enemy. That he could not trust even his interpreter, and therefore wished to converse through mine on these subjects. He came shortly after to Colonel COLLINS' tent, with his own interpreter, but to speak about trifles. On the morning of the 27th, when the Colonel was preparing to depart, GYKA came on horseback to ask for a small parting present, which had been promised. He was, among other things, very earnest on a promise that he stated had been made to him by COENRAAD DE BUYS, when an exile in his country, of bestowing his daughter on him in marriage when arrived at maturity. He was told that it was understood that the lady had already given her hand to another, an inhabitant of the colony, and that it was now impossible that his wishes could be gratified. The intelligence was very unwelcome to GYKA, who said he had been deceived, that his was a prior claim, that they had been betrothed, and he even insinuated that she ought to be compelled to fulfil her first engagement. The Kaffers.

Some discussion having arisen about stolen cattle, GYKA said the colonists must settle that business with JALOOSA, in one of whose kraals the cattle were stated to have been seen. He was told that the Christians always considered him as having absolute control over all the chieftains residing near him; and he was asked whether they were to apply to him on such occasions. He replied that it was not with the Kaffers as with the Christians, that if he should send for a chief, on the subject of stolen cattle, it would be supposed that he meant to do him harm, and that it would be better if the field-cornets were themselves to speak to JALOOSA. He said there was

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no other punishment for theft than fine, and that the penalty was always received by the eulprit's own chief. On being told that ZLAMBIE was known to have punished this crime with death, GYKA ealmly askcd whether the people of ZLAMBIE's ehieftains had since abstained from stealing? Colonel COLLINS observed that they had probably stole less on aceount of that punishment. He said that you are mueh mistaken, for that the subordinate chief must feel hurt at sueh an ineident, and would encourage his people to steal the more, without ZLAMBIE being able to prevent it. He promiscd to do his best for the reeovery of eattle stolen from the Christians, and also to eollect whatever slaves or Hottentots there might be in his territory, and either to send them to the eolony, or to give them over to the field-cornet that might eome to his kraals; a field-cornet was sent to JALOOSA. We took a friendly leave of GYKA, and proeeeded on our journey. Shortly after a Ghonaqua arrived with two Kaffers from GYKA, to inform Colonel COLLINS that he had reeeived information from the Zuurveld, that ZLAMBIE, apprehending an attack from the colony, in conjunction with GYKA, was getting his people together there. He recommended the Colonel not to trust himself among the Kaffers, without a considerable addition to his force. GYKA promised to supply immediately any further information which he might receive of any attack, by the Kaffers of the Zuurveld, on the colony. Colonel COLLINS believed that GYKA's advice and remonstranees arose from jealousy of the honor and advantage which ZLAMBIE would derive from his visit.

The Ghonaqua informed Colonel COLLINS that there was a eonsiderable number of his nation residing in Kaffer kraals, and that there were three distinct kraals of them, in all about thirty men, situated a little

lower, on the Comee, who were mostly ANGUELA'S people. He added, that GYKA had expressed his intention to place them at the Kat River as soon as perfect tranquillity was restored among the Kaffers, in order to inform him of the approach of strangers, and to forward messengers to and from the colony.* The poor Ghona pleaded with all the gestures of theatrical representation, to be exempted from the prohibition against the intruders into the colony—saying, he had never stolen from the Christians, nor in any way injured them. His eloquence obtained a sheep and a few beads, and he left perfectly contented. The Kaffers.

Two Kaffers came to Colonel COLLINS on the 30th, sent by ZLAMBIE, to inquire the cause of the warlike preparations which he understood that the colonists were making against him, and on the 1st April Colonel COLLINS left his wagons, and, accompanied by twenty men, the farmers not caring to go with a less number, he proceeded towards the Zuurveld—presently at the little Fish River he saw the families of eleven farmers who had lately left the Zuurveld, collected under their field-cornet, having other divisions above and below the stream. He advised them to return to their places, telling them that he would stipulate with ZLAMBIE for their future protection. They were averse to go back, and none more so than the field-cornet, who had some time before written a letter declaring his conviction that Colonel COLLINS would expose himself to the greatest

* It would be very remarkable if this expressed intention on the part of GYKA, should eventually have led to the establishment of the Hottentots on the Kat River, to the exclusion of his son MAKOMO; the thing is not improbable, for Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, Bart., was then with Colonel COLLINS! and I think Mr. READ told me that MAKOMO made but little objection.

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danger by going to that part of the country.* In the course of the 2nd, Colonel COLLINS passed a few small parties of hunting Kaffers, but no kraal. In the night some passed with cattle, which they said they were taking to GYKA's own country. On the morning of the 3rd a messenger was sent to ZLAMBIE to announce the intended visit, and presently they met some Kaffers on their march, commanded by GWEECHEE, the eldest son of ZLAMBIE, twenty-five years of age; he had an active form, and prepossessing manners. He said that part of his father's people were moving, for a short time, to Assagay Bosch, to change pasturage and to hunt; and that he commanded the advanced guard. The women shared the labour of carrying the baggage with the oxen, which had mats and other things affixed to their horns.

Colonel COLLINS arrived at ZLAMBIE's residence on the same day, which was about fifteen miles from the sea; he was absent, nearer the sea, but was expected back every moment. A messenger was sent to him, and the party retired to a bunch of trees a quarter of a mile from the kraal, where they were joined by such of the male part of ZLAMBIE's family as were in the village. Among them were his brothers TZATLA and SIKKOO, and his sons KOSSEE, MULWA, and MAHALA. The young men were well looking, and both they and their uncles seemed to have something in their appearance that distinguished them from the lower order, although their dress was similar. They appeared to have a great relish for our coffee, which they permitted us to boil in one of their own pots, and a few trifles which we distributed among

* Who will not see in all this the same endeavour on the part of the Dutch authorities and farmers to prevent Colonel COLLINS holding communication with the Kaffers of the Zuurveld, as they had twelve years before endeavoured to do by Mr. BARROW, when he went to the same place?

them were not less acceptable. In return they gave us some milk and a good deal of their conversation, although Colonel Collins was sensible that the inquiries he might make in that quarter must excite mistrust, yet he ventured to inquire into the strength, population, rank, and connexions of the people, things of so much importance. The best informed among the farmers had very erroneous notions on these points, yet the only way of acquiring a correct idea respecting them was to hear what they should say, both of themselves and of each other. To this Colonel Collins always resorted, but even this mode of calculating must leave considerable uncertainty. The Kaffers.

The Kaffers count only by their fingers, find it difficult to add hundreds, and are totally confused when you speak to them of thousands; the women and children they never take into account, and if one inquires the number of their cattle, all their names must be repeated before they will venture to give an answer. There cannot be a doubt that Zlambie, at this moment, is the most powerful, as well as the richest, among the Kaffers; and I think that his force, exclusive of the people of his petty chiefs, may be reasonably computed at 3,000 men.

Tzatla and Sikkoo are said to have each nearly 100 men. Besides these, and Jaloosa and Guibee, before mentioned, Zlambie has two brothers, named Mazee and Zonie. The former resides with him, the latter is said to have taken away 60 of his men, with women and children, when he proceeded to Orange River, about three years ago.

Oonoqua is a full brother of Zlambie, and of the father of Gyka; he is stated to command about 200 men, and resided at that time under the South side of the Rietberg.

Kama, a brother of Kyno, lived with another

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brother named KAMANGA, on the banks of a fine stream called the Bokenax, between ZLAMBIE's Sea-kraal and Bosjemans River. They are said to have also about 200 men. Their brother, TOLIE, has 30 or 40, and his kraal is near the mouth of the Sunday River. He is represented as one of the best disposed of his nation; and during the several wars that have occurred, he has never hesitated to trust himself among the colonists when other chiefs could not be persuaded to have personal communication.

TEHACHOO and his uncle, APAGA, live close to KAMA and KAMANGA, and they have nearly the same number of men.

KASSA, and his brother PONGA, reside between Rietberg and the Zuurberg, and may have about 60 men. JAKANIE, and his son DLAQUA, are with him; their number may be 20. OSTIE, a brother of HAABANA, has also re-inforced him with 8 or 10.

These kraals have done more injury to the farmers within the last year than has been occasioned by all the others during the same period.

Colonel COLLINS gives a further enumeration of petty chiefs, their position, and their following, which would be uninteresting in the present day, however important to the EARL OF CALEDON, at the time he wrote. Amongst other thing she says:—"GOLA, sometimes called NOGOLA," (as GONOMA, or NOGONOMA, amongst the Cape Hottentots) "having inherited no vassals, most of the people he had at the Ghamka, having left him since their return to the neighbourhood of their legitimate chiefs, he has now but 10 men remaining, with whom he has proceeded, by permission, to OLELLA's kraal, at Orange River, to bring away his wife and children."

The kraal, where we paid our respects to ZLAMBIE, was a temporary residence only, and it has no appear-

ance of cultivation in its neighbourhood. The other, which was situated about midway between the Sunday and Bosjeman's Rivers, having long been his abode during the greatest part of the year, is said to be well provided with gardens. The Kafiers.

In the afternoon we walked up to the kraal, which consisted of a few huts, built very carelessly. GWEECHEE had returned, having left his people at their destination. His good-natured smile contrasted very much with the sombre looks of the old people seated around him; who eyed us with suspicion and whispered to each other at every question, however trivial. A complaint was made to the young chief by a man who had been cut in the head by another, and the delinquent was sentenced to pay an ox to the sufferer.

At sunset we received a visit from MAREECHA, the third son of ZLAMBIE. He had been with his father, who, he told us, was coming to us as expeditiously as a lameness, to which he is subject, would allow. This youth has the advantage of even his brother in appearance, although, as it is said, he never smiles; in this respect differing from his father, whose conversation, except on subjects of a very serious nature, is stated to be a succession of laughter. He said his father had desired him to express his regret at having no cattle fit for slaughter. This was to be considered an excuse for not observing the usual Kaffer hospitality. He was told that it was of no consequence, as the party had brought a sufficiency of provisions.

In about two hours afterwards we were told that ZLAMBIE had arrived. Colonel COLLINS sent the field-commandant STOLTZ, who had been his messenger on all occasions during the Kaffer journey, to invite the chief to his fire. This was declined. He then went forward with STOLTZ and his interpreter, and found ZLAMBIE seated in the midst of a great num-

ber of his people, bearing a forest of uplifted spears at the edge of the kraal, in which a great number was known to be waiting.

The moon was full, but obscured by clouds, and its partial light served only to increase the solemnity of the interview. ZLAMBIE rose on the Colonel's approach, and presented his hand. The substance of the conversation is given. ZLAMBIE, in reply to the Commissioner's questions said, he thanked him for his inquiries after his health, and was very glad to see him. I am much obliged to you, great chief, but beg to know what messengers you allude to, and whether you have brought them with you, for I have sent none to the colony, except a few weeks since, when I dispatched some to the farmers, to request to know why they had withdrawn from this neighbourhood. ZLAMBIE denied that he had sent the messengers who had met Colonel COLLINS, or given a badge of office to any messenger. He learnt of the retreat of the farmers with much concern. He happened to be hunting near them, and feared that it might be supposed that he was the cause of their removal; their return would afford him much satisfaction; and he promised to use his best endeavours to prevent their sustaining any injury from his people. Colonel COLLINS told ZLAMBIE that the practice of begging from the inhabitants caused much inconvenience, and that orders had been given against its continuance; but that the landdrost would be rejoiced to receive a visit from him. He hoped, that when he went among the farmers, they would be ordered to give him cattle. ZLAMBIE asked what business took the Colonel to HINZA and to GYKA, and whether all his own people had been sent out of the colony? He was told that they had caught a few who had contrived to loiter in Camdebo, and who were then on their way down; also a small kraal

under OGANDE, who said they had his permission to remain in the colony, and who had been allowed to settle near the Cape.* The Kaffers.

ZLAMBIE was told that some of his subordinate chieftains, and KASSA in particular, were very troublesome in stealing from the farmers, and a wish was expressed that he would call KASSA to reside near himself. He asked what he should do if that person refused to obey him? and being told that he must best know what he should do with disobedient vassals, he replied, that in that case he should do nothing; for that KASSA formerly only lived near him. Colonel COLLINS asks what am I to do if his people should continue to steal, and ZLAMBIE says, follow the traces to the kraal, demand the cattle, and if refused, come to me. Colonel COLLINS told ZLAMBIE. that the farmers had gone to his kraal, that on many occasions they had obtained nothing, in none more than a small proportion of the stolen cattle, which were concealed until they could be sent to other kraals; it was known that the greatest part were sent beyond the Fish River. On ZLAMBIE's inquiring how Colonel COLLINS knew this; he replied, that when he was at GYKA's kraal, he received some cattle from his brother KOM, who acknowledged that they came from KASSA. Colonel

* Any one will see how impossible it would be for Kaffers to live near the Cape, or anywhere else, within the colony, unless extensive pasture lands could be given them, of which they should have the exclusive use for their own cattle. It will also, I think, occur to any one who reads the dialogue between Colonel COLLINS and ZLAMBIE, and the Colonel's Memoir, that the farmers left the sour grass plains of Albany, more because these plains were not suited for their cattle, than from anything they had to fear from the Kaffers. They can hardly live in a country of that kind until they become an agricultural instead of a pastoral people. They lately made fear of the Kaffers on the North Eastern boundary, a reason for quitting the colony; but the true reason probably is, that they cannot, in the present degree of their civilization, live under British law; and that they hoped to find a country where it was not enforced.

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Collins said, that he would send a field-cornet to go through the different kraals, if Zlambie would send proper persons to go with him; and Zlambie observed, that if too strong a party were sent the inhabitants would run away, conceiving it to be a commando. He said, that he himself would be at the Kowie River in a month. To a question about surrendering all Hottentots and slaves, Zlambie said, that he did not know of any persons of that description; and on field-cornet Stoltz saying that he had spoken to one that morning, who informed him that he belonged to Adriaan Louw; Zlambie observed, that that man ought ever to be regarded as a Kaffer, for that he had been with him from his childhood. He said, he had, some time since, given permission to two of his people to take a walk to the colony; that a farmer made them a present of a sheep, which they killed on their way home; that when eating it, another farmer approached, and deliberately shot one of them on the spot. What (inquired Zlambie) am I to do in such a case? Colonel Collins replied, that on proof being afforded to the landdrost, the farmer should be severely punished; adding, at all events, you see from this unfortunate incident the necessity of preventing your people from coming among the inhabitants. Zlambie said, that some time after the occurrence of this accident he had sent two men to Algoa Bay; they met some farmers, who, without making the least inquiry, or even allowing them to approach, began to fire at them; they took to flight, and one of them was drowned in the Sunday River. What am I to do in such a case? He said the farmers were not known. And Colonel Collins observed, that there must have been some provocation, for he could not believe that any person would act so wantonly.

Zlambie pressed Colonel Collins to stay another day, that they might become better acquainted—and when told that his request could not be acceded to, he said, then I have nothing more to say, except to return thanks again for these presents; and to assure you that although I cannot pretend to recollect your features, I shall ever retain a grateful sense of your kindness. Colonel Collins had given a present of beads for Zlambie's wife, and some which remained he divided amongst the people. The old man was highly entertained at their eagerness in scrambling for them. After twice crossing the Bosjemans River the party reached Zlambie's summer kraal, which was seated on its left bank. They had on their right the Rietberg. It is separated from the Zuurberg by a rugged vale of two or three miles in breadth, which is a favorite residence of the minor Kaffer chiefs. They found Konga's kraals on the right bank of the Sunday River, and were received by his uncle Kokata and his two youngest wives, one the daughter of Kouwta, the other of Tchacho; neither had any claim to beauty, but the party had every reason to be satisfied with their civility as far as they had the power of showing it. The former was much rejoiced to learn that we had been in her country, and we were pleased to observe that she appeared as much delighted at the accounts we gave of her brother Hinza's health, as at the presents which we made her. The other had much the appearance of a Hottentot, to which nation we understood her mother had belonged. Colonel Collins says that her brother, or half brother, Tianee, was the most promising pupil of Dr. van der Kemp. That he wrote the Dutch language extremely well, and translated it into his own tongue, of which the Doctor has composed a grammar. He has a good taste for drawing, and the

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Colonel thinks he heard, for poetry—and had begun to study English when the father was reluctantly obliged to order him to return to his kraal, to which the son returned with equal reluctance. The neighbouring Kaffers learnt his new habits with as much displeasure as his family had seen them with satisfaction. They repeatedly expressed their surprise at his having been permitted to approach manhood, without having submitted to the usual initiation; and, at length, they threatened to destroy TCHACHO and all his people, if the ceremony were not immediately observed. The youth left Bethelsdorp for the purpose of being circumcised, and it is feared that he will not be permitted to return.*

KOKATA said that KONGA had gone, a few days before, to visit his oldest wives at Kooba, where his principal kraals were situated, close to those of ZLAMBIE, TCHACHO, and KAMA. Colonel COLLINS was told that he brought his corn from the sea kraals, which were placed in a country well watered by the Bokenax and Kooba rivulets, and it was added that he resided himself at the Sunday River, merely for the sake of his cattle. This reason might have some weight in determining his choice; for the neighbourhood of the Bokenax has, for a few years past, been very fatal to the cattle of ZLAMBIE, and of the other Kaffer chiefs who have resided there during that period. But Colonel COLLINS thought that KONGA had other motives for residing near the habitations, particularly as he was told that he persisted in remaining at his former residence at the Koga, between the Sunday and the Zwartkops Rivers, for two years, although a

* These incidents in the story of TIANEE, and in the proceedings of the Kaffer people, are well worthy of consideration by those who would hope suddenly to change the habits or religion of that people, in the present stage of their enlightenment or darkness.—*May 27th.*

great mortality had prevailed there during all that time among his cattle, which had been considerably diminished in consequence* of it. The Kaffers.

Konga has three sons, Opaloo, Koba, and Mama, and the second is he who has had the expensive honor of obtaining the fair hand of Zlambie's daughter. They are all stated to be at the sea with their father, as well as his brothers Selao and Golana, and his cousins Chonga and Guazoo.

It might naturally be supposed that this double connexion of the families, would secure a sincere and lasting friendship between them. Such, however, is not the case. Zlambie and Konga hate each other, and the most trifling circumstances give rise to their quarrels. The latter is now extremely displeased at some sarcasms of the former upon his large belly. We ought not, however, to wonder that this should be considered in so serious a light by a Kaffer chief, when an occurrence so exactly similar, kindled the flames of war between the two greatest powers of Europe.

A great proportion of Konga's people are Ghonaquas. Some Hottentots are also said to be intermixed with them. He is stated, by most accounts, to have upwards of 1,000 men, of whom about 200 belong to Konga. His other relations have only a few servants.

His people were very anxious to know what Colonel Collins had to say to Konga, and were told that if he would come in a few days to the Drostdy, the Colonel would inform him. He was much inclined, from various circumstances, to think that Konga's absence was feigned.

Suspicion, and consequently the difficulty of acquir-

* It is well known with what reluctance this chief was driven from the beautiful tract of country now called Oliphant's Hoek.

The Kaffers.

ing information, seemed to increase in proportion as we approached to the colony.* KOKATA appeared to be a simpleton, and on receiving a few trifles, answered without hesitation; but the others, particularly the Ghonaquas, seemed to think our questions extraordinary; and at length led the old man away from us.

Colonel COLLINS was anxious to find out from the colonists and the Kaffers what circumstances had given rise to the complaint made by the Kaffers to ZLAMBIE, respecting the treatment that he and his companion had met with when sent to the Bay, and was told that two Kaffers having been detected in the act of stealing cattle out of a kraal, had been fired at, that one of them had been wounded, and had died at the Sunday River. The field-cornet STOLTZ related the above circumstances to ZLAMBIE, which appeared to satisfy him. He also told ZLAMBIE that he had been directed to see the man who stated that his companion had been shot by our farmers when eating the sheep that had been given to him by another. But ZLAMBIE observed, that this was unnecessary, as he was not quite certain whether the sheep might not have been stolen. He appeared, however, to the field-commandant much pleased with these explanations, and with the treatment he had received.

The field-commandant STOLTZ again saw the slave —but ZLAMBIE again refused to give him up. When the field-commandant lastly observed that ZLAMBIE might keep him if he pleased, but that he was as valuable to his master as 100 head of cattle, and that it would remain for the governor to see that justice was done for the loss sustained, in a few minutes the man was given up, and sent to his master, one

* Who, in the present day, will not understand that it was the object of the Dutch authorities and people to prevent Colonel COLLINS obtaining information, and consequently to scare the natives away from him?

Stoffel Lombaard, from whom he had deserted about three years before, and who has lost ten others in consequence of his vicinity to the Kaffers, and Colonel Collins feared, in a great degree, by unnecessary severity.* Zlambie entered spontaneously into a conversation with the field-commandant upon his situation—declaring that he felt much concern at circumstances having obliged him to continue so long in a country upon which he had no claim; and mentioned (to repeat his words) that he should see about his own, but that he must first see Gyka.

He gave the men required to search after stolen cattle, and sent orders to the subordinate chiefs to give up all in their possession—and, under pain of being attacked by him, to bring their people near his, over the Bosjemans' River. His commands have not been obeyed either in the one instance or the other; only three head of cattle were received, and the endeavour to obtain even so few, had very nearly cost Stoltz his life. The several petty chiefs have mostly remained in their former positions, or made but a trifling change.

Onooqua is the only one that I hear has joined Zlambie. Konga had signified to Major Cuyler that he and that chief had agreed to retire beyond Bosjemans River, and he stated his intention to do so immediately, in order that no part of the robberies, so frequently committed, should be attributed to his people. But he has removed only to the mouth

* The most serious difficulties which the Dutch experienced, in their first settlement at the Cape, arose, it will be observed, from the desertion of their slaves, and from thinking that they had a right to require the Hottentot tribes to surrender run-away slaves. The Kaffers must rejoice almost as much as the English that there is no longer slavery in the colony, or any right to claim others than heinous colonial criminals from them.

The Kaffers.

of the Sunday River, where he is as conveniently situated as ever for his intrigues and depredations —and KASSA and his gang perched on the Zuurberg, continue hovering over their unfortunate prey, in what are called the Bosjemans' River and Agter Bruintjes Hoogte Districts, which impunity leads them to attack more openly from day to day, and which they will not cease to devour as long as there is a particle remaining.

I had sent a remembrance by the commandant to HAABANA, who asked him whether he thought that the Christians, whom he had been in search of in the KYBA, would return. Having replied in the affirmative, HAABANA told him that a person who had lately seen them had arrived a few days before, and assured him that they had no such intention.

This intelligence has since been confirmed by GYKA, who has proceeded to Graaff-Reinet to receive the cattle that were promised to him at the period of my visit to the Aha. He told Captain ORD, at Baviaan's River, that those people* would certainly not return, and that they were extremely useful to HINZA in many respects, particularly in procuring horses and other things which that chief receives from the colony.

Stellenbosch, July, 1809.

* There is not the least doubt, I may safely say, in the mind of any dispassionate person on the North Eastern Boundary, that "those persons" are, in the present day, as GYKA represented them to be in his days, the persons very often employed in stealing horses and other things from the colony, and selling them to the Kaffers.—*May 27th,* 1845.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

PIKE AND PHILIP, PRINTERS.